Parables

Bernard of Clairvaux's Mapping of
Spiritual Topography

Brill's Studies in Intellectual History

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Bernard of Clairvaux's Mapping of Spiritual Topography

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BRILL

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PART II. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX'S PARABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Works by Bernard of Clairvaux

Abb	Sermo ad Abbates
Adv	In adventu Domini
Adv var	Sermo varius: In adventu
Ann	In annuntiatione dominica
Asc	In ascensione Domini
Asspt	In assumptione Beatae Mariae
Circ	In circumcisione Domini
Conv	Ad clericos de conversione
Csi	De consideratione
Ded	In dedicatione ecclesiae
Dil	De diligendo Deo
Div	De diversis
Ep	Epistulae
Epi	In epiphania Domini
IV HM	Feria IV hebdomadae sanctae
Gra	De gratia et libero arbitrio
Hum	De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae
Humb	In obitu domni Humberti
Mal	In transitu S. Malachiae
Mart	In festivitate S. Martini episcopi
Miss	In laudibus virginis matris homiliae
Nat	In nativitate Domini
O Asspt	Dominica infra octavam assumptionis Beatae Mariae
O Pasc	In octava paschae
OS	In festivitate omnium sanctorum
Palm	In ramis palmarum
Par	Parabolae
Pasc	In resurrectione Domini
VI p Pent	Dominica VI post Pentecosten
Pre	De praecepto et dispensatione

Pur   In purificatione S. Mariae
QH   In Quadragesima de Psalmo "Qui Habitat"
Quad   In Quadragesima
SC   Super Cantica Canticorum
Sent   Sententiae
Sept   In Septuagesima
Tpl   Ad milites templi de laude novae militiae
V Mal   Vita S. Malachiae episcopi
V Nat   In vigilia nativitatis

Other abbreviations

PG   J.-P. Migne (ed.). 1857–1866. *Patrologiae cursus completus.*
           Series Graeca, 161 vols. Paris.
PL   J.-P. Migne (ed.). 1844–1855 and 1862–1865. *Patrologiae*
           cursus completus. Series Latina, 217 vols. and 4 vols. of indexes.
           Paris.
SBO   J. Leclercq, H.-M. Rochais, and C.H. Talbot (eds.). 1957–
           1998. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 8 vols. and 1 vol. of index.
           Rome: Editiones Cistercienses.

INTRODUCTION

Bernard of Clairvaux, although quite a traveller, never went to the Holy Land. The Jerusalem that he strove for was elsewhere. Bernard's Jerusalem takes on several guises; it is at once a vision of peace in celestial beatitude, the lost homeland lamented by the rivers of Babylon, and a monastic anticipation of celestial citizenship. It is a Jerusalem which on the one hand embodies several shades of Cassian's fourfold exposition but on the other hand evades systemization. It is a place in its own right yet also a place which is to a great extent defined through its relation to other locations. Bernard's Jerusalem has its position within a soteriological topography composed of a range of theologico-literary topoi cultivated within the *longue durée* of biblical reception. It encompasses a vast number of seemingly incompatible sites such as the Garden of Eden, Babylon, the wilderness, *regio dissimilitudinis*, and the *cubiculum* of the king, to mention but a few. This topography is the setting of the quest of *homo viator* and the focus of this study.

1. *Bernard of Clairvaux revisited*

Bernard of Clairvaux was born in 1090 or 1091 near Dijon to pious parents of the Burgundian nobility. He entered the Cistercian monastery of Citeaux in 1113 and became abbot of its daughter-house in Clairvaux in 1115, a position he maintained until his death in 1153. Bernard engaged in the ecclesiastical causes and politics of his days. Constantly on the watch for heresy or recidivism in whatever guise he sought persistently to drive his contemporaries into soteriologically safer havens; be that Cistercian monasteries, crusades, orthodoxy, or, if nothing else, simply god-fearing lives. He became the central figure of the Cistercian Order and its endeavours to reform Benedictine monasticism and was a principal source behind the success of that Order, a fact manifest already in his lifetime. He was abbot, politician, preacher, and author all in one. Letters, sermons, and treatises were the genres employed in his

endeavours to expound and convey the nature of man's post-lapsarian condition, his lost potential, and prospective hopes.[1]

Bernard's *corpus* of texts is interwoven with a red thread of masterly literary and rhetorical composition, and he deftly manoeuvres between compulsion and entreaty, persistently enticing his audience into a biblico-monastic universe in which they must take their proper place. His texts display a spectrum of different themes proliferating from one central core, that core being the strivings of the soul from post-lapsarian misery towards beatific union with God. These themes are unfolded with rhetorical fecundity within an associative framework of biblical references and expositions. The point of departure is the post-lapsarian loss and debasement in which man is turned towards himself in self-love, his will, originally free, enslaved by sin. However, self-love may be turned into love of one's neighbour and, ultimately, into love of God. And the will captured by sin may, via an increasing degree of freedom, reach towards its own dissolution in the will of God, and so achieve a restoration of the divine image and likeness that were distorted in the Fall. The means by which these developments are brought about are humility and mortification acting together with the gracious love of God enacted in creation but first and foremost in incarnation. Thus, a spiritual progress takes place, aimed at the vision of God in celestial beatitude.

This development is usually described, by Bernard and Bernard-scholars alike, in terms of steps and stages. But its organic character should not be disregarded. Because of a certain evasiveness and imaginative turmoil in Bernard's work overall, it seems attractive to mirror his different clusters of steps and degrees in a schematic fashion. While this approach reflects one side of the Bernardine universe and furthermore is of pedagogical merit, it is not the one followed here. In this context, Bernard's steps and stages are viewed as a structural device in the organization and communication of a composite message to an audience of diverse dispositions. Hierarchies and graduations are thus considered

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[1] While aware of the problems arising, I refer to the human being as "man". Partly because this term reflects the personal specificity of *homo* as opposed to the more indefinite "human being". Partly because it echoes the theological tradition dealt with here which is concerned with humanity represented by "man", *homo*, a term which includes women, and because the monastic context which is in focus here centres on "man" in the gendered particularity of the term, and basically excludes women. And finally because this solution, after all, seemed the most linguistically straightforward.

both a mnemonic device and a way of overcoming an ever-animate textual turbulence graphically represented in Ep 89. In this letter, Bernard envisages that his addressee Oger considers the abbot capable of thinking, dictating, writing, and sending off his letter in silence:

> How can the mind be quiet when composing a letter and a turmoil of expressions are clamouring and every sort of phrase and diversity of senses are jostling one another? When words spring into the mind, but just the word one wants escapes one; when literary effect, sense, and how to convey a meaning clearly, and what should be said, and in what order it should be said, have to be carefully considered; all the things which those who understand these matters scrutinize carefully?[2]

There is a significant tension between the multitude of concerns allegedly overwhelming the author here and his reputed capability of shaping form, substance, and effect so as to convey his meaning as forcefully as possible. One of the significant means by which he operates these three registers of literary effect, sense, and conveyance of meaning respectively, is the topographical vocabulary. On the one hand, topographical indications as to the fragrant beauty of gardens, sly deceivers at cross-roads, Babylonian confusion, and Jerusalemite bliss lend verve and, indeed, literary effect to the Bernardine texts. On the other hand, in these texts, landscapes and locations embody soteriological positions and crises thus carrying sense by way of heavily loaded analogies: as when Babylon denotes post-lapsarian captivity in sin, and the wilderness signifies either diabolically mesmerized singularity, or the utmost purity of heart. And finally, by changes in authorial point of view within the various topographies at play, shifting his attention from one location to another, Bernard shapes the *ductus* of his texts. He may look yearningly towards celestial beatitude—or impatiently and despairingly ponder the post-lapsarian locus of exile.

Through these shifts, an indirect communication of meaning is added to the more clear-cut topographical implications. Thus much of the topographically charged sense conveyed by Bernard hinges on the ways in which he steers his audience within the landscapes of his texts.

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[2] "Quantus enim tumultus est in mente dictantium, ubi multitudo perstrepit dictionum, orationum varietas et diversitas sensuum concurrit, ubi saepe respuitur quod occurrit et requiritur quod excidit? Ubi quid pulchrius secundum litteram, quid consequentius iuxta sententiam, quid planius propter intelligentiam, quid utilius ad conscientiam, quid denique, cui, vel post, vel ante ponatur, intentissime attenditur, multaque alia quae a doctis in huiusmodi curiosius observantur?" Ep 89.1; Winkler II: 710. James's translation, 137–138.

2. *Topic and structure*

The principal textual focus here is the Bernardine parables. But our examination cuts through a number of other texts from the *corpus* with the ambition of communicating an idea of the range, character, and flexibility of topographical motifs. It is suggested that a point of view attuned to this particular feature and the motive forces at play in its application may lead to new insights as regards the tension between statics and dynamics of the Bernardine texts. The topographical focus, it is argued, throws light on the ways in which notions such as Babylon and Jerusalem seemingly frozen in semi-allegorical solidity and convention, and to a modern eye almost amounting to commonplaces, may be rife with both theological potential and a plea for appropriation through rumination.

The interest lies with three basic issues: first, the outline of the spiritual topography as the spatial framework of the spiritual experience; its topoi, and their spiritual qualifications. Second, the question of topographical anthropology, that is, the conditions and potentials of man considered from a topographical point of view in terms of adherence to or distance from certain places. Third, Bernard's mapping of this spiritual landscape, his representation of the different places and the movements going on between them. These issues constitute the interrogative basis of the study. They are not addressed successively but in a circular and accumulative movement, adding up to an instance of working out from within an exhibition of Bernard's spiritual topographies, their textual and spiritual function.

The first part of the study establishes a frame of reference for the textual analysis of the parables. This part has four chapters, each of which addresses a constituent in Bernardine mapping of spiritual topography: the hermeneutics of cartography, textual representations of topography, the anthropology inherent in the topographical layouts, and topography as a mnemonic device in the most comprehensive and compound meaning of that term. Each of the chapters departs from a prolegomenary focus outside the Bernardine *corpus*. This focus may be theoretical or related to other sources, primarily biblical or Augustinian. With this point of departure as a foil, each of the chapters then pursues its theme across a range of Bernardine texts concluding with a close-reading of one particular Bernardine text or passage which is considered specifically pertinent to the theme in question.

The four chapters constitute a repetitive structure in which themes and texts cross over and throw light on each other. Thus, the Bernardine texts addressed in the chapter on topography are almost equally applicable to the study of topographical anthropology, while the key text on cartography reverberates in the chapter on memory. This interweaving at once corroborates and challenges the cross-textual thematic structuring of Part I, a structure rather dissolved in Part II's focus on a selection of texts viewed in their entirety.

The second part analyses each of the eight Bernardine parables with specific regard to their topographical structure. The parables are presented in brief summaries and their locations and settings pinned down and scrutinized with focus on the variety and interaction of the topoi grouped together, on the different ways in which Bernard manoeuvres within the topographical framework, and on the communicative potential of the topographical layout. This part brings with it perspectives on other Bernardine texts, but the parables remain its centre of gravity.

3. *Position in the scholarly landscape*

I am concerned with the Bernardine texts as self-contained entities. The readings focus on textual structures and dynamics, and thus generally leave aside the function of the texts as evidence of something else; be that their historical *Sitz-im-Leben*, Bernard of Clairvaux the man, contemporary applicability, or a systematic theology. This stance entails a deviation from consolidated positions within Cistercian scholarship. These deviations are not meant as a revolt against previous scholarship in the field—but as a modest contribution which tends in another direction.

First, the work with Bernard presented here is considerably influenced by more or less current discussions of space, representation, and historiography. It is literary rather than historical in scope and admits to a mild suspicion of historiographical foci claiming independence from contemporary discourses. It thus takes another road than that pointed out by for instance D. Heller, who discards scholarly approaches defined by contemporary partialities and opts for a point of view in which the historical context forms the one valid frame of reference for the texts:

> Bernhard von Clairvaux soll zunächst als Person in den Blick genom-
> men werden, deren Ideen für sich stehen, aber nur aus dem direkten
> geistesgeschichtlichen Zeitabschnitt und den geographisch-historischen
> Gegebenheiten zu verstehen sind.[3]

I base myself on the hermeneutic assumption that these texts imply
both a register by which they are embedded in their contemporaneous
situation and one by which they transcend it. Much and fecund work
has been done within the first field; this is an essay within the latter.

This is also a study exclusively interested in texts. It thereby falls
short of the demands on a church-historical work made by U. Köpf:

> Der Kirchenhistoriker kann sich nicht mit der Untersuchung von Tex-
> ten benügen. Seine Erkenntnisbemühungen zielen auf das Leben, das
> hinter den Texten steht und sich in ihnen aüssert […] So ist auch die
> Frage nach Bernhard als Mystiker eine Frage, die sich nicht benügt mit
> Auskünften über den literarischen Charakter seiner Werke, über seine
> mystische Sprache, über die Mystische Traditionen, die er aufgenommen
> oft verarbeitet hat und dergleichen; sondern sie zielt auf ein Gesamt-
> bild seiner Persönlichkeit, auf eine Charakteristik seines geistigen For-
> mats.[4]

The interest here lies with the "Bernard" who manifests himself in,
rather than behind, the texts; the basic methodological premise being
that the Bernard displayed by the texts is he who manifests himself
within them as authorial figure, as it were.

One third deviation may be mentioned, namely the departure from
what may be considered the familial point of view; a point of view,
that is, on intimate terms with the Bernardine universe. Unsurprisingly,
this is the approach of a considerable part of the significant portion
of scholarly work on Bernard of Clairvaux coming from a monastic
context. This goes also for the parables, one of the few works to address
them being the translation and introduction by Michael Casey ocso.
When Casey first published his valuable project in *Cistercian Studies*, he
offered a delightfully forthright programme:

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[3] Heller 1990b, 1–8, especially 7. Would it be impertinent to point to the chiming
of Heller's valuable work *Schriftauslegung und geistliche Erfahrung bei Bernhard von Clairvaux*
(1990), and its description of Bernard's biblical interpretations in the light of his time
and personal circumstances, with an important strand in German Bernard scholarship
that admittedly after Heller's book produced significant biographically and experien-
tially focused works such as Ulrich Köpf's article "Bernard von Clairvaux—ein Mys-
tiker" (1994) and Peter Dinzelbacher's *Bernhard von Clairvaux, Leben und Werk des berühmten
Zisterziensers* (1998)?

[4] Köpf 1994, 25.

> It would be easy to write a learned commentary on this simple tale, dredging up the pedigrees of ideas and expressions, identifying the scriptural strands so harmoniously blended and lauding the numerous verbal felicities. Such an exercise is profitable, perhaps, insofar as it leads to the conviction that we have here a very profound piece of writing. At the same time there is a danger that such erudite pedantry is, in fact, a betrayal of the author's intention in composing such entertaining pieces. There is more value to be found in reading them, especially in reading them aloud, in enjoying them and in pondering them afterwards.[5]

It may be protested that there are many ways of enjoying a text; and that there are some contexts, cultures, and language-games in which enjoyment is best enacted by reading aloud and others in which dredging up pedigrees of ideas and so forth is the appropriate way of indulging in and enjoying a particular textual universe. While concurring with Casey's textual attention to the Parables and pleasure in reading them, this pursuit thus takes another direction. A direction which is first and foremost concerned with the textual strategies through which Bernard addresses the question of the post-lapsarian condition of man—and the means by which he seeks to answer it.

4. *Topography in Bernard research*

To my knowledge, the topographical complexity has not previously been isolated as a specific trend of Bernard's spiritual thinking and examined as such. It would, however, be quite untrue to argue that the topographical element in Bernard has hitherto been altogether neglected. This point brings us to the final deviation of our project, namely that from the pursuit of Bernard's theological structure. Studies which have hitherto touched upon the function of his topographical vocabulary are generally concerned with Bernard as a monastic theologian, whether in the well-organized version of Gilson or in McGinn's focus on spiritual experience. The aim here is not to trace Bernard's one basic story of man's Fall and restoration but to pursue the many narratives through which this story is told over and over again. In this respect, ours is an examination of literary rather than theological structures—which, I argue, is not the same as saying that it is everything to do with literature and nothing with theology.

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[5] Casey 1983a, 16–17.

By and large, it seems that there are two ways of dealing with the abbot's topographical pointers. One is through references to the topographical aspect as central and elucidatory without, however, pursuing or questioning it further. The other is through suggestions that the topographical element is but a figurative device that might be replaced by any other analogy. A brief list of major Bernard scholars will merely serve to exemplify these two approaches. This exemplification entails that the feature of topography is lifted from the general scope of each of the works mentioned. The aim here is thus not to criticize the works as such but only to sketch views on the issue of topography as it figures in Bernard-scholarship.

Gilson in *La théologie mystique de Saint Bernard* finds an implicit point of orientation in the topography. The chapter on the terrestrial state is entitled *Regio dissimilitudinis* while that on the monastery is called *Paradisus claustralis*. By employing Bernardine phrases, Gilson indicates an emic approach to the work. More central in our context, he also seems to call to mind a spatial layout in which both terrestrial and monastic life have their charged locations. In *La théologie mystique*, however, *regio dissimilitudinis* is not a place but a condition. It signifies the disfiguration of man caused by cupidity.[6] Similarly, the cloistered Paradise is a matter of dogma rather than localities. To Gilson, Paradise mainly implies man's potential participation in the internally Trinitarian charity.[7] The topographical indications thus sustain his systematic rendering of Bernard's theology expressly opposing contemporary fragmentary studies of Bernardine thought;[8] but the locations serve merely as organizational labels for his exposition of Bernardine doctrine on the Fall and grace, sin, and love.

In 1964, Gilson edited a selection of Bernardine texts under the suggestive title *Saint Bernard, un itinéraire de retour à Dieu*. He labelled this source mosaic under the impact of Bernard's mapping of the way that will lead to a reversal of the post-lapsarian condition. Div 42 and its description of the five *regiones* fits well into this scheme: "Dans le *Sermon sur les cinq négoces et les cinq régions*, il dresse la carte de territoire que doit traverser l'itinéraire de l'homme en quête de Dieu."[9] And Gilson notes the potential of the regional structure of this sermon for the descrip-

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[6] Gilson 1986, 57, note 1.
[7] Gilson 1986, 108–141.
[8] Gilson 1986, 56.
[9] Gilson 1964, 45.

tion of progress and relapse: "Saint Bernard décrit ici les différentes 'régions' où l'âme peut se trouver par rapport à Dieu: sorte de topographie mystique dans le cadre de laquelle se déroule le cheminement de l'homme se tournant vers Dieu ou s'éloignant de lui."[10] While thus in these two works to some extent paying the topographical indications their due, Gilson seems to consider this aspect mainly in terms of framework; it is the *cadre* of the return of man, just as it forms the *cadre* of his own unrolling of Bernardine spirituality in *La théologie mystique*, offering a certain élan to title and headers.

Like Gilson, J.-B. Auberger notes the topographical compulsion of Div 42; but apparently he considers any ascription of significance to this compulsion somewhat daring:

> Mais, l'emploi où l'expression prend un charactère locatif plus marqué est sans aucun doute dans le *42ème sermon divers*. Ce sermon, en fait, n'est vraisemblablement qu'un schéma homélitique établi soit par un secrétaire de BERNARD soit peut-être par un auditeur au moment même où il fut prêché. Néanmoins, il est très instructif d'une 'géographie mystique'—s'il nous est permis de nous exprimer ainsi.[11]

If not completely stifled by Auberger's association of the locative character of the sermon and its somewhat inferior or un-Bernardine nature, as a homiletic schema jotted down by a secretary or listener, the idea of a "mystic geography" is immediately transferred into the realm of pedagogical imagery through the inverted commas and the apologetic addition.

A more straightforward statement is found in B. McGinn, who in *The Growth of Mysticism* launches the chapter "Stages on the Road to Perfection" as follows:

> Like so many other Christian mystics, Bernard frequently presents itineraries or descriptions of the soul's progress. These sketches are essentially pedagogical tools, road maps that the guide of souls gives to his charges to provide them some general sense of what lies ahead. They are not to be mistaken for descriptions of the actual journey itself, an experience unique to each soul and always conducted at the discretion of the Holy Spirit.[12]

In his comprehensive survey of Bernard's texts and thinking, McGinn stresses the experiential character of a journey which may be collec-

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[10] Gilson 1964, 55.
[11] Auberger 1986, 304.
[12] McGinn 1995, 183.

tively based but soon takes on an individual and inexpressible nature. While setting out the intellectual, sensory, and spiritual context and stages of the journey, he is not concerned with the landscape in which it takes place.

As to the second kind of approach to the topographical complex, several authors point to the topographical language as a (terrestrially) contingent mode of expression. Thus for instance Leclercq, who says about the symbol of Jerusalem

> Il n'est pas dit, le plus souvent, que celle-ci soit céleste, comme pour la distinguer d'une autre qui ne soit pas du ciel; elle est même parfois appelée 'la terre des vivans'. Ce qui importe n'est pas le lieu où elle se trouve—les images humaines avec lesquelles on est réduit à en parler ne sont que des analogies—, c'est la vie qu'on y mène, c'est-à-dire la vie même de Dieu.[13]

Gilson appears in this group as well, sharing this idea of the topographical language as one taken from a range of different figurative vocabularies, exchangeable with for instance an imagery related to climate: "l'homme est un exilé; il n'habite plus le pays de sa naissance. On pourrait dire, en termes légèrement différents, qu'il vit sous un climat qui n'est pas le sien."[14]

P. Courcelle finds that Div 42 presents an "allégorèse topographique" primarily employed as a pedagogical vehicle,[15] and he states that the topographical language is employed as a means of linguistic clarification. Casey argues that the *regio dissimilitudinis* is "one of a series of images used pastorally by Bernard to indicate negative forces operative in the process of salvation".[16] In short, in this group there seems to be consensus that the topographical vocabulary serves as a potent yet replaceable pedagogical vehicle for Bernardine thought. Apparently many of the authors mentioned, both those who pay heed to the topographical aspects of Bernardine thought and those who do not, concur with M. Casey when he states that "Il n'est pas facile d'exposer les thèmes majeurs de Bernard, car une bonne part de ses traits spécifiques tiennent plus au style qu'au contenu".[17] The question remains, however, whether form and content are indeed distinguishable in Bernard. I suggest that the parabolic communication and the topographical layout

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[13] Leclercq 1957, 58.
[14] Gilson 186, 62.
[15] Courcelle 1960, 22.
[16] Casey 1988, 181.
[17] Casey 1992, 634.

share an ability to convey content through a formal structure in which stability and open-endedness merge.

As an exception to the prevalent disregard for the topographical strand of the Bernardine *oeuvre* I shall finally point to the more integrated approach proposed in M.B. Pranger's *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Shape of Monastic Thought: Broken Dreams*. This study is primarily concerned with monastic memory, yet the awareness of space in monastic thought is an inherent interest. The following passage serves as a representative example of the spatial discourse of this work:

> On the one hand, we find images which divide and organize space: *cubiculum*, *caelum*, *scala*, *ascensio*, *descensio*. On the other, we find images which are being produced and sustained by those spatial categories at different stages and with different degrees of intensity and visibility: truth, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Father, monastic man, humility, pride. Through endless variations within the spatial setting those images are subject to change. Thus they grant visibility to the *loci* and create suspense without ever occupying a fixed place or having a fixed shape. That is why they function both as organising and disorganising principles.[18]

To conclude, much research shows a degree of awareness that the spiritual theology of Bernard has a topographical undercurrent of sorts. Only rarely, however, is the idea allowed to settle and affect Bernard-studies in any decisive way. Its dismissal springs from the view that the topographical aspect is merely of stylistic significance and is inadequate when it comes to offering an absolute linguistic comprehension of the spiritual experience. Accordingly, the topographical language is considered as an illustrative analogy which is perfectly interchangeable with other categories of imagery. Thus no further interest seems to have been aroused, neither with regard to the particulars of the topographies within which the itinerary of man unrolls, nor with regard to the textual representation of these topographies. Finally, no attention has been directed towards the way in which these designations function and interact in the Bernardine texts.

I argue that this register of topographical analogies is constitutive for Bernard's textual universe. This argument rests on two interrelated assumptions. First, a questioning of the dismissal of analogies as merely a matter of stylistics. Second, the suggestion that the topographical vocabulary is a repository and conveyor of meaning.

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[18] Pranger 1994, 116.

5. *Theoretical considerations*

The readings in Bernard here proposed bring into convergence several fields each with its own repertoire of methodologies. Thus the study of monastic texts traditionally calls for a range of approaches steeped in fields such as history, philology, theology, literature, and sociology: whereas issues pertaining to space and spatiality, topography, and cartography invite theoretical approaches originating for instance in, on the one hand, geography and cartography and on the other, studies of literature, philosophy, religion, and art. Finally, the parabolic genre has attracted theoretical considerations drawing on rhetoric, cognitive linguistics, biblical studies, or a spectrum of specific areas within literary theory from formalism to reception aesthetics.

Contrary, perhaps, to the connotations of words such as space, place, and mapping, our underlying ambition is not primarily the delineation of a theoretical apparatus but a pragmatic textual investigation concerned with a particular idea and with the textual manufacture. Theoretical considerations are consulted but no theoretical school or strand advocated. The basic idea behind this strategy is that the purposeful organization, pinning down, and framing which lies so attractively near in a thematically focused textual study such as this must constantly be checked and challenged. The theories implied are employed for this particular purpose. At the same time however, the intention is also to challenge some of the theoretical stances with the source material and to test methodological assertions against the Bernardine texts.

The methodological basis thus has several layers through which the theme of representation runs as a polyphonic *leitmotif*. The representation of 'something' by means of an analogous 'something else' is at the core both of the cartographic discourse, in which a geographic reality is represented in a two-dimensional form by means of codified signatures, and of the parabolic genre, in which a more or less obvious message is communicated in the shape of a narrative with a metaphorically charged potential. Representation lies also at the heart of ponderings and theories concerning ways in which things may be represented in memory by a trace which is not the thing itself, yet is sufficiently like it to embody recollection; and it is, finally, an aspect central to the textual exposition of the dimensions of a spiritual quest which is in principle ineffable. These four modes of representation will recur in the course of the examination. The issue of cartographic rep-

resentation is the methodological point of view from which the sub-
ject of spiritual topography is approached, the parabolic representa-
tion the textual focus of the examination, the memorial representa-
tion the *point de repère* from which we examine Bernard's elaborations
of the reception of the biblical text, and the textual rendering of the
post-lapsarian conditions and perspectives the overall frame of refer-
ence.

In several ways sympathetic to the hermeneutical project of recep-
tion theory, attention is directed to what may be termed the semantic
frame of resonance of the parables. The interest here lies with aspects
of reception and fusions of horizons between text and reader. However,
the text in question is only partially Bernard's text and the reader in
question is only partially the Cistercian monk who in this case appears
mainly in the guise of the implied reader. Equally important is the ques-
tion of Bernard as reader or recipient of biblical topoi. Thus Bernard's
text is considered partly as the manifestation of a process of reception
of a specific textual tradition, partly as a transmission of this recep-
tion to his monastic recipients. In this respect, focus is directed to a
specific point in the *longue durée* of textual topoi central to the cultural
and religious memory of early and medieval Christianity, and the trans-
lation of these topoi into a particular monastic setting with its par-
ticular approach to rumination and appropriation. It aims at tracing
aspects of Bernard's reception and interpretation partly of the bibli-
cal text, partly of topoi such as Paradise, Babylon, Jerusalem, and the
regio dissimilitudinis, and finally of the analogical dynamic so central to
the early Christian tradition, whether fleshed out in allegory, typology,
personification, or parabolic texts of various types. It also exhibits yet
another manifestation of the peculiar Bernardine amalgam of dogged
reiteration of traditional topoi and inventive exploration and exten-
sion.

The topographical and spatial terminologies employed are of course
basically anachronistic distinctions used as interpretative tools. In the
Middle Ages, the concept of space, *spatium*, means a chronological or
topograhical interval; in Zumthor's words, that which is between, a
void to be filled.[19] The basic reference here is Bollnow's wholly matter-
of-fact definition: "Raum ist das Umgreifende, in dem alles seinen
Platz, seinen Ort oder seine Stelle hat".[20] By *space* I thus refer to

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[19] Zumthor 1993, 51.
[20] Bollnow 1963, 37.

the three-dimensional and comprehensive entities in which different places are embedded. Space, that is, as a unity of places and intervals, horizontal and vertical axes. Bernard employs neither of the Greek words *topos* and *topographia*, which at the time is distinctly related to the description of a geographical region, such as the *Topographia hiberniae* by Gerald of Wales (1146–1223) with its tripartite presentation of Ireland, its flora and fauna, wonders and miracles, and its population both *in toto* and represented by figureheads. He does use, however, the Latin *locus* in the sense of place: as geographical location, as passage in a text, or as the site of something, whether physically or metaphorically. It is in this broad sense that both locus and topos are employed in this context; and the understanding of topography as a unity of such places is equally comprehensive.

Bernard of Clairvaux's *parabolae* may be considered a monastic *enchiridion* of sorts. They address a range of central issues fleshed out in brief allegorical narratives, each with its set of characters staged in a carefully charted setting. The prevailing scholarly view of the parables is that they are aimed either at monastic newcomers or at the monastic community at large. These texts are thus considered the milk which, in the words of SC 1, prepare for the more substantial spiritual nourishment of texts such as the sermons on the Song of Songs. It is the assumption underlying this study that the parables serve as an introduction not only to central themes but also to a monastic mode of reception; they do not represent a fully-fledged monastic poetics but attest as it were to a lactic hermeneutics which fit their milky substance. The parables unroll vital monastic topoi such as the post-lapsarian conditions of man, the strengths of cenobitic life, the implications of *militia Christi*, and the embrace of bride and bridegroom. At the same time, they communicate basic theologico-literary traits of Christianity, the complexities of its biblical embedding, and the inherent demand that Christians fathom the biblical messages and mould their lives accordingly.

This characteristic of early and medieval Christianity finds a particular crystallization in the interpretative endeavours of the monastic *ruminatio* and the interaction between *lectio divina*, contemplation, and appropriation of the spiritual sense of the biblical text. In the parables, it is argued, vestiges of such a mode of reception may be pursued through an examination of the ways in which Bernard employs topographical structures originating in the Bible; structures applying to places and landscapes, strangers and natives.

This study is about parables. The somewhat evasive idea of "throwing something next to" which is the basic meaning of παραβάλλειν looms large in the various representations addressed. *Parabolae* form the textual focus of the study, and the rhetorical figure of the parable is reflected throughout.

PART I

SEMANTIC FRAME OF RESONANCE

MAPPINGS

> There was once an empire in which cartography was so perfected that a map of a province was the size of a city and that of the entire empire the size of a province. When this no longer appeared satisfactory, the guild of cartographers manufactured a map of the empire which had the empire's measurements exactly.
>
> Later generations had less veneration for cartography. They found the map useless and left it lying. In the Western deserts of the empire one may still find ruins of that map inhabited by beasts and beggars. Of the disciplines of geography, however, there is no trace.[1]

I. *Mapping: Prolegomena*

This chapter is about textual representation of topography. Not, however, any and all topography. We shall make overtures to the way in which Bernard represents biblical topography. Focus lies with bifurcations of meaning. S. Tomasch says about Borges's tale that "It warns against the intellectual hubris of reifying the image with such precision that no space remains between the signifier and the signified, between the simulacrum and the thing itself—that is, the text and the territory."[2] In a different light, it may be considered as a retention of the parabolic character of mapping.

1. *The hermeneutics of cartography*

The methodological point of departure of this study is the communicative dynamics of cartography. Cartography is here perceived as the representation of a certain area in a graphic form and a handy format. It is further viewed as a communication of place to a recipient, and the following considerations have a hermeneutical orientation. The cartographic discourse could thus have been substituted by other variations

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[1] Paraphrase of "On Exactitude in Science", Borges 1999, 325.
[2] Tomasch 1998, 5.

on the scheme *author—text—recipient*, but this version seems an expedient basis for a study particularly attentive to place.

Mapping involves two sets of interpretative actions: the fabrication (encoding) and the reading (decoding) of the map. On the one hand, mapping implies the cartographer's representation of a reality by means of signs which constitute points of identification between the map and the geographic factuality to which it refers. In this process, a small-scale version of a geographical area is projected onto e.g. paper in a shape involving a selective translation of features pertaining *inter alia* to topography, vegetation, and population into representative figures. On the other hand, the recipient translates the signs and data of the map into an idea of a geographical reality. This process is schematized by Pickles as follows:[3]

Real World		Cartographer		Map		Map Reader		Message
SOURCE	→	ENCODER	→	CODED MESSAGE	→	DECODER	→	RECEIVER
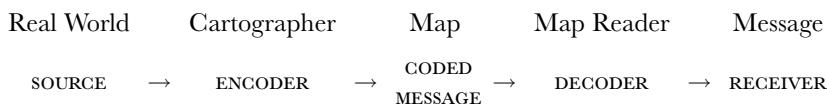
As Pickles states, the transmission and reception of maps is not a univocal process: "Through the fusion of horizons between the reader's world and the world of the map (and the map maker) the map *connotes* a variety of meanings."[4] This scheme, like any scheme, thus simplifies an unequivocal process but offers a range of helpful conceptions describing the communicative exchanges implied.

First the encoding. The cartographer transforms a geographical reality into graphic outlines and signs. This is at once a translation of scale and vocabulary, as it were, resting on generalizations and enabling generalizing comparisons of specific characteristics. Thus on a map, London and Mexico City may appear identical owing to their shared identity as capitals and regardless of numerous differences. Specific features are privileged and others disregarded. The referentiality between reality and map is constituted by means of signs. In Zumthor's words, the map "implique donc un système sémiotique complexe. Elle iconise l'espace".[5] These signs are recognizable either *qua* symbolic accordance, as is the case in the representation of a lighthouse by a fig-

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[3] This is the basic part of Pickles's model. Another part, left out here, concerns the noise that distorts map reading. Pickles 1992, 195.

[4] Pickles 1992, 221. Pickles's italics.

[5] Zumthor 1993, 317.

ure resembling rays of light, or by a kind of stylized resemblance such as the symbolization of a vantage point by a triangle. Finally, some of the signs are chosen by the cartographer or by cartographic paradigms; such as red dots and black dots each of which signifies a city with a certain number of inhabitants. While, to many of us, it connotes factuality and neutrality, the map is thus a subjective medium. It is preconditioned by a selection of criteria for the mapping such as climate, topographical features, vegetation, or religion and is carried out as an elaborate explication of these specific criteria. In Harley's words: "The steps in making a map—selection, omission, simplification, classification, the creation of hierarchies, and 'symbolization'—are all inherently rhetorical."[6] In short, whenever a cartographer wants to represent a reality, she sets up a range of signs in order to mediate between reality and map and, in turn, between reality and spectator. Her signification rests on the assumption that a frame of reference shared by herself and the map reader is either present or establishable.

This assumption is displayed particularly suggestively in the maps of tourist guides. In the *Michelin* guides, for instance, the cartographic symbol of three stars means "worth a journey" while two signify "worth a detour". The symbols thus imply a certain amount of objectivity or universality as regards which sites are worth journeys and detours respectively, and they appear with the same unquestioned validity as those representing "Prehistoric sites", "Motorways", and "Post offices". The supposed universality implied in landscape representations aimed at tourists has been exposed with verve in R. Barthes's essay on what he sees as the bourgeois presumption of *Le Guide Bleu*. The *Guide*, according to Barthes, selects landscapes on account of their being picturesque ("On retrouve ici cette promotion bourgeoise de la montagne") and monuments on account of their being religious: "car d'un point de vue bourgeois il est à peu près impossible d'imaginer une histoire de L'Art qui ne soit pas chrétienne et catholique. Le christianisme est le premier fournisseur du tourisme, et l'on ne voyage que pour visiter des églises."[8]

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[6] Harley 1992, 243.

[7] The impossibility of cartographic objectivity is demonstrated in e.g. Harley 1992. As one instance of cartographic 'tricks' one may point to the fact that cartographic symbols are frequently out of scale.

[8] Barthes 1970, 121–124. Quotations from 121 and 123 respectively. See also Duncan and Duncan 1992, 20–22. As we shall see, Jerome anticipates the "bourgeois" predilection for mountains.

To Barthes, the *Guide* thus disfigures the variety of historically bound sociological and political realities in its depopulating mystification of landscape.

In short, the cartographic representation of landscape makes use of a range of signatures. Through these signatures, the map may be invested not only with information, but also with directions, communication, or even manipulation.

2. *Man in space*

At the other end of Pickles's schema, we find the relation between map, map reader, and message. This relation involves some kind of mental construction of geographical reality based on the indications of the map. It may also imply the possibility of identifying a particular geographical reality by means of the map. We shall linger briefly over maps explicitly addressing the map reader: stable maps with a mark that indicates the position of the spectator: "You are here". Such maps aim at identification between the reality immediately surrounding the spectator and the reality represented on the map. The interrelation between the mark and the map's perspective enables the spectator to use the map as a means of identifying for instance the streets and buildings he sees when viewing the surrounding area ("that white building to my left is in fact the town hall"), just as he may use the reality as a three-dimensional interpretation of the map ("that yellow street is in fact the street with the red houses over there"). Finally, the bird's eye view of the map offers an extended vision and thereby a view of places that the spectator does not see immediately, thus for instance enabling him to find his way away from the map.

This kind of map charts the surroundings of the spectator. It thus, on a small scale, makes graphically concrete those other, perhaps grander, chartings of space with which man attempts to orientate himself in the world. The impetus in human beings to categorize space has been investigated from many angles. Suffice it to call to mind a few classical works each of which has its own, for some modern views perhaps somewhat disconcerting, pretension to systematic completeness. For instance E. Cassirer's examination of man's perceptual structurings of space in terms of mythical, aesthetical, and theoretical spaces. Of particular interest in this case is his exposition of the *Mythischer Raum*, manifested through opposite locales:

Heiligkeit oder Unheiligkeit, Zugänglichkeit oder Unzugänglichkeit, Segen oder Fluch, Vertrautheit oder Fremdheit, Glücksverheissung oder drohende Gefahr—das sind die Merkmale, nach denen der Mythos die Orte im Raume gegeneinander absondert und nach denen er die Richtungen im Raume unterscheidet.[9]

Or Eliade's studies in the separations pertaining to religious beliefs and practices of different categories of holy and profane space, sacred centres and peripheries in *Le sacré et le profane* (1957), attesting to the urge to master and differentiate space through religious categorizations. Or an examination of human perceptions of space with an explicitly anthropological rather than a metaphysical focus such as the one related to the *Aktionsraum* surveyed in existential philosophy, thus indicated by E. Ströker:

Hier und Dort sind wesenhaft verschieden; Dort und Dort nicht. Das Hier ist ein ganz unvergleichbarer Ort im Aktionsraum, sein *Zentrum*, von dem her er ist, was er ist, Ort des handelnden Subjekts, das von seinem Platz aus den Aktionsraum entfaltet.[10]

References in this respect should be made not least to O.F. Bollnow's ponderings on the various axes of man's *Aktionsraum* in his work *Mensch und Raum* (1963) which investigates different *Räume* in which man exists and acts—from his world to his home.

The endeavours of Bernard with regard to textual cartographies may in some ways be considered relative to these kinds of categorization of space. The approaches of both Cassirer and Eliade offer attractive foils, charting as they do fundamental and general separations between celestiality and terrestriality, familiarity and alienation, and so on; the soteriological range of the Bernardine topographies seems to call for exactly that kind of cosmographical aspiration. Nevertheless, while such aspects may be said to reverberate in the mytho-soteriological framework of Bernard's textual chartings, their focus and interest are first and foremost anthropological. His ambition is not to create a theological system, but to explore the post-lapsarian conditions and potential of man. And in this respect, his texts assume the character of the cartographic representations of the immediate surroundings clearly indicating the "You are here".

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[9] Cassirer 1975, 27. This article is a brief summary of his main work *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (1923–1929).
[10] Ströker 1965, 65, drawing on Bollnow.

3. *Mappings of biblical topography*

Bernard's exploration of these post-lapsarian conditions is associated
with the plunge into the biblical universe from which they derive. This
is first and foremost a ruminating descent into texts and meanings but,
as a part of that, also a navigation and representation of a broad variety
of biblical landscapes. The interest with topography holds a particular
and polyvalent position in the understanding and interpretation of the
texts. This interest shows in a variety of ways; here we propose a closer
look at three of them.

a. Mapping biblical topography: Egeria's itinerary

First the idea that the experience of biblical landscape promotes the
understanding of the Bible which lies behind Egeria's *Itinerarium*.[11] In
381–384, Egeria, a French or Spanish nun or abbess, navigates that
holy land which has been established in the wake of the Constantinian
turn with the efforts being made to transform the Roman city *Aelia
Capitolina* into the Christian city Jerusalem, "the new Jerusalem opposite
the old" as the climax.[12] Egeria's itinerary, only partly preserved, has
two parts. First the large-scale journeys such as those in the landscape
surrounding Mount Sinai and those to Edessa, Constantinople, and
Antioch. Then a spatially more narrow depiction of the liturgy of
Jerusalem (or the Jerusalem of the liturgy), in which she charts both
the space of that city and the liturgical demarcations in the course of
the day and the year.

The two parts in many ways mirror each other as two differently
scaled instances of a quasi-processional plotting of biblical topography
alternating between journeys or wanderings and ritual commemora-
tions. Both on Sinai and in Jerusalem, Egeria's account is structured
around references to the biblical events that have taken place in the
locations that she visits and the services that are held in each of these
places with readings and hymns concordant with the place. With recur-
rence to the cartographical preliminaries, it may be argued that these

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[11] Also Jerome claims that just as people going to Athens are better equipped to
understand Greek history, so those who go to Judea to see the traces of the old
cities and places will have a better understanding of the biblical text. *Praefatio in librum
Paralipomenon iuxta LXX interpretes*, PL 29.401.

[12] Eusebius, *De vita Constantini* III.33, PG 20.1094; the construction is presented in
III.25–40, PG 20.1086–1090.

readings play the role of the signatures linking the landscape with its representation.

The chapters on Egeria's visit to Sinai are representatively suggestive of her interest in the palpable vestiges of the biblical stories. She is shown the once-burning bush of the epiphany in Ex 3.2 which, she narrates, is now situated in a most agreeable garden with plentiful water (*hortus est gratissimus habens aquam optimam abundantem*). Close by the company of travellers are presented with the place where Moses stood when God told him to take off his shoes (Ex 3.5) (*Locus etiam ostenditur ibi iuxta, ubi stetit sanctus Moyses, quando ei dixit Deus: 'Solve corrigiam calciamenti tui'*).[13] "We were also shown a great stone in this place where Moses descended with Joshua son of Nun; on this stone he broke in his anger the tablets that he was bringing for them."[14]

Egeria's comparisons between text and land are diligent and pragmatic; they are driven by an interest in the exclusively literal meaning of the biblical text. She ponders neither the soteriological nor the spiritual. Having pursued the route of the Israelites in the desert, she concludes:

> […] as far as I have perceived it, the sons of Israel walked in a manner in which they sometimes went a bit to the right, sometimes returned a bit to the left, soon went forwards again, then returned backwards. And thus did they travel until they reached the Red Sea.[15]

There is no beating about the bush in her composite array of motives; the text attests to her engagement in the services, but there is also mention of her being led partly by curiosity (16.3), partly by the fashions among pilgrims as to which places to visit (17.1).

The main incentive of her text, however, is to mediate between her sisters back home and the landscapes and locations mentioned in the biblical text. Concluding her narration of the visit to Mount Sinai, she apologizes: "Writing all this in detail has been too much; for one cannot retain so many things. But when you, my dears, read the holy books of Moses, you will see before you more accurately the things

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[13] *Itinerarium* 5.2, 144.

[14] "Ostenderunt etiam petram ingentem in ipso loco ubi descendebat sanctus Moyses cum Iesu filio Naue, ad quem petram *iratus fregit tabulas*, quas afferebat (Ex 32.19)." *Itinerarium* 5.4, 144. Where nothing else is indicated, translations are mine.

[15] "[…] quantum tamen peruidere potui, filios Israhel sic ambulasse, ut quantum irent dextra, tantum reuerterentur sinistra, quantum denuo in ante ibant, tantum denuo retro reuertebantur: et sic fecerunt ipsum iter, donec peruenirent ad mare Rubrum." *Itinerarium* 7.3, 154.

that have happened here."[16] The knowledge of the bush, currently in
a beautiful garden, will help them envisage it aflame. The materiality
of the landscape, as conveyed in Egeria's text, will lend visibility to the
biblical stories.

b. Mapping biblical topography: Jerome's etymologies

For our next two examples we shall turn to somewhat more stylized
landscapes, thereby leaving the utmost corporeality in favour of more
stratified representations. We shall also turn to more explicitly carto-
graphical representations of biblical landscapes. In von den Brincken's
words, "Die Kartographie des Abendlandes steht im Mittelalter durch
rund ein Jahrtausend und bis ins 13. Jahrhundert fast ausschließlich im
Dienste der Theologie, insbesondere der Bibelexegese."[17] It is telling
that two of the first cartographic endeavours within Western Christian-
ity stem from figureheads in the field of exegesis.

   The oldest Christian map, according to von den Brincken,[18] is re-
lated to Jerome's *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum*.[19] In his
preface, Jerome alludes to a picture at the end of the work (*pictura ad
extremum in hoc opusculo laboravit*) with almost all the cities, mountains,
rivers, villages, and names of various places of the Scriptures translated
from Greek (*de sancta Scriptura omnium pene urbium, montium, fluminum, vicu-
lorum, et diversorum locorum vocabula*). And presumably maps of the Ori-
ent and Palestine respectively were attached to the text. Martène's text
critical work on Jerome's preface discovers a variation in the concep-
tions of the dimension of Jerome's figure; from the *chorographia* (from
χῶρος, "region", "land") which is preferred in Martène's version to
the *cosmographia* and *topographia* which appear in some manuscripts. But
an instance of *ortographia* in the manuscript-tradition attests to other
generic assumptions.[20] Jerome's work is related to his continuing lin-
guistic and etymological encounter with the biblical text. The represen-

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[16] "Quae quidem omnia singulatim scribere satis fuit, quia nec retinere poterant
tanta; sed cum leget affectio uestra libros sanctos Moysi, omnia diligentius peruidet,
quae ibi facta sunt." *Itinerarium* 5.8, 146.
   [17] von den Brincken 1992, 182.
   [18] von den Brincken 1992, 24, pl. 2 and 3 from a 12th cent. manuscript, British
Library Add. 10049.
   [19] PL 23.859–930, PL leaves out the map, cf. the editorial note on the want of textual
witnesses to its authenticity in the final *Admonitio*, PL 23.927–930.
   [20] *Praefatio*, PL 23.859.

tation of the biblical landscapes in maps and etymological lists alike is related to the biblical information, as it were, that the names of locations may yield: and both representations are auxiliaries to the penetration of the biblical layers of meaning.[21]

Jerome is also the pioneer of the cartographically seminal positioning of Jerusalem as the navel of the world. In his commentary to Ezek 5.5, "Thus says the Lord God: This is Jerusalem; I have set her in the center of the nations, with countries all around her",[22] he writes that Jerusalem is situated in the middle of the earth (*Hierusalem in medio mundi sitam*) and that the prophet attests to its situation as navel of the earth (*umbilicum terrae*) at the crossing between Asia to the east, Europe to the west, Africa to the south, and Scythia to the north.[23] A significant point, left without comment by von den Brincken, is the association of Ezek with Ps 73.12, "operatus est salutis in medio terrae".[24] The central position of Jerusalem refers to its soteriological centrality as much as to its position at the crossing of axes of the *nationes*.[25] This is an early instance of the concordance between geographical features and soteriological reality that were to flourish in the medieval *mappae-mundi*.

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[21] See Isidore of Seville's description of etymology, the origin of words, as a matter of picking up the virtue of words or names through interpretation (*Etymologia est origo vocabulorum, cum vis verbi vel nominis per interpretationem colligitur.*) *Etymologiarum Libri XX* I.29.1, PL 82.105. Dahan 1999, 307–308.

[22] Vulgate: "haec dicit Dominus Deus ista est Hierusalem in medio gentium posui eam et in circuitu eius terras". Biblical passages in English are rendered from the NRSV. In quotations of Bernard texts, Biblical quotations are written in capitals, translations of the biblical passages within Bernard-quotations are my renderings of the wording of Bernard's texts, drawing on the wording from NRSV's translation of the Hebrew and Greek texts whenever possible. Bernard's quotations from the Bible are sometimes from Vulgate, sometimes Vetus Latina, transmitted through liturgical texts and Patristic commentaries: in Leclercq's words, "il cite alors la Bible non comme il la lit, mais comme il la voit commentée, comme il l'entend au choeur, au réfectoire, au cloître ou au chapitre." Leclercq 1960, 246 and Dronke 1984, 209. I refer to *Vulgate* whenever a comparison between the Latin phraseology of the Bible and the one presented by Bernard appears to be useful, using the version edited by R. Weber 1994 and maintaining the unpunctuated text of this edition. The numbers by which the Psalms are referred to are those of Vulgate.

[23] Jerome, *Commentarii in Hiezechielem* II.5.5, 55–56.

[24] Vulgate has "salutes".

[25] von den Brincken 1992, 25.

c. Mapping biblical topography: Augustine's typologies

Also the TO-maps, according to von den Brincken,[26] have their textual origin with a biblical expositor, namely Augustine. These maps divide the circle (the O) of the world into three parts (by the T), the upper half representing Asia, the two lower quarters Europe and Africa respectively. It derives from Augustine's description of three manifestations of the "city of the earthborn" which around the time of Abraham gained considerable power in the world through the three gentile empires of Sicyon, Egypt, and Assyria with the latter preponderant. Augustine carefully outlines the division of the world into Asia, Europe, and Africa:

> This does not make an equal division. For the part called Asia reaches from the south, through the east, to the north, Europe from the north to the west, and then Africa begins and stretches from the west to the south. Hence the divisions, Europe and Africa, are seen to contain half the world, while Asia by itself contains the other half. The reason why Europe and Africa are treated as two separate parts is that between them the water enters from the Ocean to form the intervening sea, our Great Sea. Therefore, if you divide the world into two parts, the East and the West, Asia will be in one, and both Europe and Africa in the other. […] Thus in Assyria the ungodly city exercised predominant power. Its capital was that Babylon whose name, 'Confusion', is most apt for the earthborn city. Ninus was reigning there at this time […] This was about 1,200 years before the foundation of Rome, the second Babylonia, as it were, the Babylonia of the west.[27]

Concordantly with her project of tracing early instances of cartography, von den Brincken perhaps plays down somewhat the variety of themes converging in this textual TO-map. It has its position within Augustine's unravelling of the *civitas terrena* in the ages of mankind, and

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[26] von den Brincken 1992, 30.

[27] "[…] quod non aequali diuisione fecerunt. Namque ista, quae Asia nuncupatur, a meridie per orientem usque ad septentrionem peruenit; Europa uero a septentrione usque ad occidentem, atque inde Africa ab occidente usque ad meridiem. Unde uidentur orbem dimidium duae tenere, Europa et Africa, alium uero dimidium sola Asia. Sed ideo illae duae partes factae sunt, quia inter utramque ab Oceano ingreditur, quidquid aquarum terras interluit; et hoc mare magnum nobis facit. Quapropter si in duas partes orbem diuidas, Orientis et Occidentis, Asia erit in una, in altera uero Europa et Africa. […] In Assyria igitur praeualuerat dominatus impiae ciuitatis; huius caput erat illa Babylon, cuius terrigenae ciuitatis nomen aptissimum est, id est confusio. Ibi iam Ninus regnabat […] qui erat annus circiter millensimus ducentensimus ante conditam Romam, ueluti alteram in occidente Babyloniam." *De civitate Dei* XVI.17; XIV.2: 521–522. Bettenson's translation, 676–677.

the ambition is historiographical and typological as much as it is carto-
graphical. The *pars pro toto* aspect is marked. This geographical deline-
ation has its place within the larger scope of the work and its tracing
of the terrestrial city in time and space. A few books earlier, Augustine
has prefaced his account of Noah thus:

> Surely it is only a twisted mind that would maintain that books which
> have been so scrupulously preserved for thousands of years, which have
> been safeguarded by such a concern for so well-ordered a transmission,
> that such books were written without serious purpose, or that we should
> consult them simply for historical facts?[28]

This is another instance of the interest with materiality for the sake of
in-depth understanding. Not shunning the biblical material for the sake
of its spirit but rather embracing it eagerly.

These three examples attest to the attention paid to the physical par-
ticulars, the literal meaning. The material character of the landscape,
whether in stone, orthography, or continents is the basis of any search
for additional meanings.

II. *Bernardine mapping*

We shall approach the question of Bernardine mapping with features
from the cartographical survey in mind, notably: the cartographer is
interpreter, she communicates by means of signs and signatures, and
cartography rests on the assumption that a shared universe is present
or may be constituted. Furthermore, some maps exhibit a particular
and direct communication with the recipient, for instance through
indications of attention to the position of the person who reads the
map or the places where he might want to go.

As a prologue to the examination, it may be suggested that Bernard
conveys a geographical reality which is biblical in its core (below). He
employs topographical indications such as Egypt, the chamber of the
bridegroom, and the new Jerusalem as signatures heavily charged with
connotations (Chapter Two). And throughout he pays particular atten-
tion to the diverse implications of the post-lapsarian and monastic posi-

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[28] "Quis enim nisi mente peruersus inaniter scriptos esse contendat libros per anno-
rum milia tanta religione et tam ordinatae successionis obseruantia custoditos aut solas
res gestas illic intuendas […]" *De civitate Dei* XV.27; XIV.2: 495. Bettenson's translation,
645.

tion of his recipients through anthropological markers (Chapter Three). The maps are indicated in the Bible and represented in Bernard's text, but ideally also impregnated in memory through rumination (Chapter Four). This scheme seems neat and compartmental. In the harsh realities of biblical interpretation and appropriation, however, it is anything but.

1. *Bernard and the Bible*

Let us return once more to Pickles's figure of "real world", "cartographer", "map", "map reader", and "message" and address the question of topographical reality in Bernard. This is a universe composed of different elements, first and foremost biblical material, Patristic elaboration, and intra- as well as extra-mural experience. Bernard the cartographer is identical with Bernard the biblical appropriator. The Bible offers a topography composed of a range of topoi: Paradise, Nod, Egypt, Babylon, the Promised Land, the chamber of the bridegroom, the fields where he tends his flock, the stable in Bethlehem, Golgotha, and the tomb. These loci constitute co-ordinates in a geographical whole which is at the same time a soteriological whole. On the one hand, a tale of progression is told hinged on geographically bound points of progression from the Garden of Eden to the heavenly Jerusalem. On the other hand, there is a simultaneous tale of a geographically bound continuous relapse, or detained progression, localized in different places from the land of Nod to the great whore of Babylon. These places, those of progression and those of detention, are intertwined and related in a non-linear structure creating a close and complex topography, a topography which is the stage as well as space both of the collective salvation history of mankind and of individual spiritual development.

Bernard's cartographic endeavour is thus part and parcel of his approach to the Bible. In *Vita Prima*, Geoffrey of Auxerre says about the abbot: "For he once confessed that when meditating or praying, the whole sacred Scripture appeared as if placed and explained beneath him".[29] A little later, pursuing the spatial metaphor, Geoffrey says of Bernard's approach to the Bible: "He employed the Scripture in such a free and profitable way, that rather than following it, he seemed to

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[29] "Nam et confessus est aliquando, sibi meditanti vel oranti sacram omnem, velut sub se positam et expositam, apparuisse Scripturam." *Vita Prima* III.7, PL 185.307.

precede it, leading it where he wanted to, himself following its author
the Spirit."[30] Regardless of the problems of the relationship between
hagiography and *oeuvre*, these are images to be kept in mind; the image
of Bernard writing and thinking with the Bible and thereby the biblical
topography, placed and explained beneath him. And Bernard following
the Spirit with the Bible at his heels. In Lubac's words "De lui plus que
d'aucun autre il semble donc vrai de dire qu'il n'explique pas l'écriture
à proprement parler: il l'applique; il ne l'éclaire pas: il éclaire tout par
elle, et d'abord le cœur humain."[31]

The dynamics of Bernard's biblical application is of a somewhat elusive
nature, and this often leads to a forked approach to the monumental
question of Bernard and the Bible. The doubleness reverberates typi-
cally in Timmermann who finds that

> Die Bibel ist für Bernhard nicht nur ein Gegenstand der Auslegungsar-
> beit, sondern ein lebendiges Mittel zu Gott. Als solches nimmt sie in
> seinem Leben und seiner Spiritualität einen zentralen Platz ein. Bild-
> und Bibelverständnis, Bild- und Bibelbenutzung und Religiosität stehen
> dabei in einem unlösbaren Zusammenhang. Er bildet den Hintergrund,
> vor dem die Bildlichkeit aller Parabolae gesehen werden muss.

Yet a few lines below she writes, with reference to Leclercq,

> An zahlreichen Stellen erscheinen in den Werken des Heiligen Bernhard
> genaue oder abgewandelte Zitate aus der Bibel; biblische Stoffe werden
> paraphrasierend vermittelt; kürzere oder ausführlichere Reminiszenzen
> färben die Sprache auch ausserhalb der Zitate selbst, so dass diese über-
> haupt biblische Couleur annimmt.[32]

On the one hand, it is generally recognized that the Bernardine *corpus*
is embedded in and permeated by the Bible. This applies for instance
to Dumontier's classic study on Bernard and the Bible and it satu-
rates Leclercq's work, most notably *L'amour des lettres*. Many scholars
have quoted with consent Dumontier's observation that Bernard "parle
biblique". In context, the sentence reads: "Une autre originalité des

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[30] "Utebatur sane Scripturis tam libere commodeque, ut non tam sequi illas, quam
præcedere crederetur, et ducere ipse quo vellet, auctorem earum ducem Spiritum
sequens." *Vita Prima* III.7, PL 185.307. See also Lubac 1959, II: 585.
[31] Lubac 1959, II: 585. The "Bible" should be understood in a comprehensive sense;
Bernard's biblical renderings derive from Vulgate but just as often also from *Vetus Latina*
transmitted in homiliaries, liturgical texts, and Patristic commentaries. Lobrichon 1992,
214–215. See also note 22.
[32] Timmermann 1982, 52.

vieux auteurs, c'est leur langage. Ils 'parlent biblique', saint Bernard surtout, l'inventeur et le virtuose du genre, comme on parle français".[33] This "comme on parle français" is important because it describes the natural ease with which Bernard formulates himself in biblical idioms and suggests that this language is a sort of vernacular to him. Also C. Mohrmann points to this permeation: "Peut-être même sa langue est-elle à ce point nourrie d'Ecriture Sainte qu'il parle comme celle-ci sans en être, à chaque fois, conscient."[34]

On the other hand, there is generally an impulse to deal with biblical quotations and references *per se* as matter which has been inserted into a "Bernardine text".[35] Distinguished examples of this are found in the comprehensive stylistic research of Leclercq, a characteristic phrase of which reads:

> Du moins les exemples qui ont été cités autorisent-ils quelques contes-tations. La première est que Bernard utilise l'Ecriture Sainte avec une abondance extrême. On le savait. Peut-être le mesure-t-on mieux encore quand on prend la peine de se livrer, Concordance et Vulgate en mains, à une analyse minutieuse d'un certain nombre de ses textes […][36]

This double attitude is to some extent related to differentiations be-tween a focus on respectively monastic and stylistic elements. It further-more attests, perhaps, to the difficulties in pinning down and displaying the exact nature of Bernard's "biblish". This is not just a manner of heaping one biblical sentence upon another. The Bernardine reverber-ations of biblical and liturgical texts form an intricate weave of terms, contexts, meanings, and interpretations in which phrases, words, and motifs associatively spur new phrases, words, and motifs which in turn linger and are resumed.

The mappings mentioned above call to mind the question of mate-riality. Apart from his text in praise of the new knighthood, in which he charts the contemplative tour that the Templars should embark on when in the holy land, Bernard is generally not concerned with the actual topography. Nevertheless, it may be argued that there is a mate-riality present in his chartings of soteriological topography. The materi-ality, as it were, of the literal meaning of Scripture. Thus, the historical

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[33] Dumontier 1953, 157. See also Dahan 1999, 23.
[34] Mohrmann 1958, xiv.
[35] Just about, in fact, 31,000 references and allusions, according to Leclercq and Rochais referred to in Figuet 1992, 237, note 1.
[36] Leclercq 1969, 245. See also Leclercq 1962.

sense of Jerusalem is not so much the city of the Jews as it is the seat of King David. The spiritual topography rests on topographical indications in the Bible taken literally. But each of its locations furthermore implies a cluster of spiritual connotations. How, then, does the topography fare with regard to the four-fold exegesis?

2. *Intermezzo: Cassian and the four-fold exegesis*

As our point of departure we shall address the *locus classicus* of John Cassian's four-fold exposition of Jerusalem. Cassian's *collatio* XIV is dedicated to the knowledge required of those in religious profession according to Nestorius. Partly that of πρακτική, the purging of vices, partly that of θεωρητική, the contemplation of things divine and the cognition of the meaning of the most sacred of them (XIV.2). This latter knowledge is in turn divided into two elements, the historical interpretation and the spiritual understanding (*historica interpretatio et intellegentia spiritalis*). Thus prefaced, the oft-quoted representation of the layers of meaning in Gal 4.26 is unrolled.[37]

First, Cassian states, the apostle pins down the *historia*, the knowledge of things past and sensory: Abraham had two sons, one with the slave and one with the free woman. Then the apostle proceeds to the *allegoria* which signifies things that have taken place and prefigures another mystery (*sacramentum*): the two women represent the two covenants, and Sinai is Hagar who symbolizes the present Jerusalem enslaved with her sons. The *anagoge*, then, points to the spiritual mysteries and the more sublime and sacred secrets of heaven expounded by Paul in his allusion

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[37] Cassian divides the wording of Gal 4.22–26 into three interpretative genres with interludes formed by his own comments. The biblical text, here according to Vulgate, runs as follows: "scriptum est enim quoniam Abraham duos filios habuit unum de ancilla et unum de libera sed qui de ancilla secundum carnem natus est qui autem de libera per repromissionem quae sunt per allegoriam dicta haec enim sunt duo testamenta unum quidem a monte Sina in servitutem generans quae est Agar Sina enim mons est in Arabia qui coniunctus est ei quae nunc est Hierusalem et servit cum filiis eius illa autem quae sursum est Hierusalem libera est quae est mater nostra"; NRSV: "For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave woman and the other by a free woman. One, the child of the slave, was born according to the flesh; the other, the child of the free woman, was born through the promise. Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One woman, in fact, is Hagar, from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery. Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia and corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the other woman corresponds to the Jerusalem above; she is free, and she is our mother." Notably, Cassian leaves out "quae sunt per allegoriam dicta". *Collatio* XIV.8; II: 190.

to the free Jerusalem above. The *tropologia* is a moral explanation aimed at the emendation of human lives and concerned with the present instruction. As if, Cassian exemplifies, the two covenants referred to by Paul were to be applied to the πρακτική and the θεωρητική of religious life—or as if Jerusalem were taken to mean the soul. These four figures, however, are united in one as Jerusalem signifies each of these things: In the historical sense the city of the Jews, in the allegorical sense the Church of Christ, in the anagogical sense the celestial city of God, and in the tropological sense the human soul.[38]

These, Cassian concludes, are the four kinds of interpretation of which the blessed apostle says: "Now brothers, if I come to you speaking in tongues, how will you benefit unless I speak in revelation, knowledge, prophecy or teaching?"[39] The revelation thus pertains to the allegory which reveals the sense hidden in the historical account. As an instance of the revelatory allegory, Cassian points to 1 Cor 10.1–4 and its statement that just as "our ancestors" were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and the sea, they all drank from the spiritual rock which was Christ. This, Cassian comments, shows the prefiguration of the blood and body of Christ that we receive each day. The knowledge relates to the tropology which is related to practical judgement concerning the good or useful conduct in a given situation. As his example Cassian points to 1 Cor 11.13 and its question whether it is proper for a woman to pray unveiled. The prophecy is the anagogical meaning through which the word is transferred to future and invisible things (*per quam ad inuisibilia ac futura sermo transfertur*). The representative instance of prophetic analogy is taken from 1 Thess 4.12–15 and its account of the future rising of those dead in Christ at the call of the archangel's voice and God's trumpet. Finally, the teaching is the simple historical exposition in which no more secret meaning is contained than that which resounds in the words (*in qua nullus occultior intellectus nisi qui uerbis resonat continetur*). Several examples are offered to this end, for instance 1 Cor 15.3–5 stating that Christ died for our sins in accordance with Scripture.[40]

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[38] "[…] secundum historiam ciuitas Iudaeorum, secundum allegoriam ecclesia Christi, secundum anagogen ciuitas dei illa caelestis, *quae est mater omnium nostrum* (Gal 4.26), secundum tropologiam anima hominis […]" *Collatio* XIV.8; II: 190.

[39] "De his quattuor interpretationum generibus beatus apostolus ita dicit: *nunc autem fratres, si uenero ad uos linguis loquens, quid uobis prodero, nisi uobis loquar aut in reuelatione aut in scientia aut in prophetia aut in doctrina?* (1 Cor 14.6)" *Collatio* XIV.8; II: 191.

[40] *Collatio* XIV.8; II: 191–192.

These senses of Scripture, however, are not immediately accessible, Cassian states; they require going over the text again and again but are further spurred by the quiescence of the mind:

> This continual meditation renders us a double fruit: first, it is necessary that the attention of the mind is occupied by reading and studying so that it is not captivated by any snares of harmful thoughts. Further, that we run through numerous repetitions labouring to commit [the text] to memory without being able to grasp it at the moment because our minds are not at rest. But when we are later relieved of all the enticements of action and vision and silently go over it again in meditation, especially in the night, we see it in a clearer light. Thus the most hidden meanings of which we have only the slightest conjecture when awake are revealed to us when we are resting and as if plunged into the torpor of sleep.[41]

In other words, the appearance of different layers of meaning is not the result of a meticulous exegetical interpretation: "While the renewal of our minds grows through this study, the face of Scripture also begins to renew itself […] It adapts to the capacity of the human senses, appearing terrestrial to those who are carnal and divine to those who are spiritual […]".[42]

In his formative *Exégèse Médiévale*, H. Lubac makes "les quatre sens de l'écriture" the heuristic principle of his scrutiny of medieval delineations and structurings of a systematic and spiritually purposeful study of Scripture. In Cassian, Lubac finds one of his points of departure for this approach. Starting from Cassian's introduction of the *ordinis* and *ratio* of each discipline, hence also the religious one in *Collatio* XIV.1, Lubac proceeds to examine the order of Cassian's four layers of meaning. And the erudite scholar does not seem entirely content with the author's systematics. First, he dismisses Cassian's application of the

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[41] "Haec etenim meditationis iugitas duplicem nobis conferet fructum: primum quod, dum in legendis ac parandis lectionibus occupatur mentis intentio, necesse est ut nullis noxiarum cogitationum laqueis captiuetur: deinde quod ea, quae creberrima repetitione percursa, dum memoriae tradere laboramus, intellegere id temporis obligata mente non quiuimus, postea ab omnium actuum ac uisionum inlecebris absoluti praecipueque nocturna meditatione taciti reuoluentes clarius intuemur, ita ut occultissimorum sensuum, quos ne tenui quidem uigilantes opinatione percepimus, quiescentibus nobis et uelut soporis stupore demersis intellegentia reueletur." *Collatio* XIV.10; II: 196–197.

[42] "Crescente autem per hoc studium innouatione mentis nostrae etiam scripturarum facies incipiet innouari […] Pro capacitate enim humanorum sensuum earum quoque species coaptatur et uel terrena carnalibus uel diuina spiritalibus adparebit, […]" *Collatio* XIV.11; II: 197.

four apostolic genres of 1 Cor as a "concordisme particulièrement artifi-
ciel".[43] Then he points out the lack of order in this author who himself
calls for structure. "Cassien, il est vrai, intervertit bientôt les termes au
cours de son explication; aussi le lecteur a-t-il de la peine à s'y recon-
naître. Flottement sans doute inconscient, mais qui n'en est pas moins
significatif."[44]

This allegedly unconscious wavering on Cassian's part concerns on
the one hand the nature of the texts interpreted, on the other the
order in which the four layers are listed. Thus, first the systematic four-
fold interpretation of the single feature of Jerusalem based on a single
biblical passage clashes with the textual supplements to the quotation
from 1 Cor 14.6 and its four manners of apostolic speech. Whereas
the first instance renders one text with several layers of meaning, the
second draws on different Pauline passages for each of the meanings
mentioned. Then there is the sequence of the layers. In Cassian's
rendering of Gal 4's exposition of Jerusalem the course is: history,
allegory, anagogy, and tropology. In his interpretation of the classes
of apostolic speech of 1 Cor, however, he traverses allegory, tropology,
anagogy, and history. To Lubac, this attests to the ambiguous status of
tropology according to whether it was thought of in sacred or profane
terms. When appearing after anagogy, it is basically thought of as
sacred, when appearing before as profane.[45]

Might another possibility be, however, that Cassian is guided more
by the structure of the texts he is reading than by that of his own
semantic ordering? It may thus be argued, that Cassian's *collatio* XIV
is pre-eminently about the reading of the biblical text. In terms not
so much of an exegetical system as of an inquiry into the strata of
meaning it may yield. Or, anachronistically speaking: the kinds of com-
munication it promotes. In Gal 4.21–26, these kinds are conglomer-
ated paradigmatically; only the tropological meaning is not entirely
deducible from the biblical passage, but must be adduced by calling
on references from elsewhere. But more often, these meanings are not
simultaneously present, and different passages represent different kinds
of meaning.

In any case, the later section on the meaning of the text manifesting
itself in sleep seems to contradict a basic concern in Cassian with order

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[43] Lubac 1959, I: 191.
[44] Lubac 1959, I: 192.
[45] Lubac 1959, I: 192–193.

and exegetical attack. He sets out in a very structured manner, but the engagement with the Pauline texts apparently challenges somewhat the order of things—and the kaleidoscopic nature of Scripture, changing according to the capability of its reader, bursts it asunder. The question left floating in the air is whether Lubac indeed exhausts Cassian's passage in designating this as unconscious wavering.

But then this is not a study of Cassian but of Bernard—an author in whom there is no unconscious wavering, apart from what is deliberately proposed and finely chiselled. It is to him that we shall now turn.

3. *Bernardine exegeses*

Heller has scrutinized Bernard's employment of the four-fold exegesis. She finds that his texts attest to literal, tropological, and anagogical interpretations and exclude the allegorical. She moreover points out that of these three exegetical modes the most important are the literal and the tropological ones leading into the anagogical; but she also states that there seems to be neither a compulsory principle nor a prevailing standard in Bernard's interpretative approach.[46] As regards the parables more specifically, it may be suggested that the majority are dominated by a tropological interest supplemented by an anagogical perspective, whereas Par IV and VI are primarily allegorical in scope. These structures, however, are subjected to the overall parabolic predilection for analogies whether in the shape of personifications, typologies, or allegories.

Accordingly, in this context, we shall follow G. Dahan in his questioning of the applicability of the four-fold schema with regard to medieval exegesis before 1300. Dahan sees the main impetus of medieval exegesis in its provocation of an imbalance (*déséquilibre*) between the literal sense and the other senses: thus rather supposing a juxtaposition of hermeneutical endeavours pertaining to letter and spirit respectively.[47]

In the same vein, the guiding interpretative "principle" in Bernard seems to be that of the development from an understanding *in carne* to an understanding *in spiritu*, or from *caro* to *plenitudo*.[48] As Farkasfalvy points out, "the formula of the Creed *et homo factus est* is much less

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[46] Heller 1990b, 45–48.
[47] Dahan 1999, 55–56 and 436–437.
[48] Farkasfalvy 1979.

relevant than the Johannine verse *Verbum caro factum est.*"[49] The interpre-
tative pivot is the *verbum abbreviatum* of Christ spoken in a carnal shape
concomitant with the carnal world into which it is spoken. In the words
of SC 6.3: "He became incarnate for the sake of carnal men, that he
might induce them to relish the life of the Spirit."[50] The dynamic from
carnal towards spiritual is ever present, from the entry of Jesus into
the womb of the virgin as an anticipation of his spiritual entry into
the heart of man (Asspt 5) to the teaching begged by mortal man from
learned men and holy books in order to see the invisible attributes of
God that the angels may consider in all fullness (SC 53.5), via the pre-
sentation of the dedication liturgy as a point of departure for the under-
standing of the workings of Christological grace (Ded 1.4): "In us must
be performed spiritually what has been done visibly to the walls before.
And that, if you want to know, is: aspersion, inscription, unction, illu-
mination, and benediction."[51]

But as, I argue, we saw in Cassian, the transference from the literal
or carnal understanding onto the spiritual has no automatism about it.
This is described in terms of agonized physicality by William of Saint-
Thierry who distinguishes between the successive stages of contempla-
tion describing the restriction that he faces when trying to proceed from
the contemplation of Christ *in carne* to that *in spiritu*. William writes:

> But when I desire to approach him […] when I wish to see and touch the
> whole of him, and not only that but to approach the sacrosanct wound
> in his side, the entrance of the ark that has been made in his side not
> only to put my finger [there] or the whole hand but to enter completely
> into the very heart of Jesus […] alas, then it is said to me: Do not touch
> me.[52]

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[49] Farkasfalvy 1979, 225. Farkasfalvy's italics.

[50] "Obtulit carnem sapientibus carnem, per quam discerent sapere et spiritum."
SC 6.I.3; Winkler V: 102. Walsh's translation, I: 33. See also SC 53.7.

[51] "In nobis proinde spiritualiter impleri necesse est, quae in parietibus visibiliter
praecesserunt. Et si vultis scire, haec utique sunt: aspersio, incriptio, inunctio, illumina-
tio, benedictio." Ded 1.4; Winkler VIII: 814.

[52] "Sed cum accedere gestio ad eum […] totum eum desidero videre et tangere,
et non solum, sed accedere ad sacrosanctum lateris ejus vulnus, ostium archæ quod
factum est in latere, ut non tantum mittam digitum vel totam manum, sed totus intrem
usque ad ipsum cor Ihesu […] heu! dicitur michi: Noli me tangere." *De contemplando Deo*
I.3, 64.

4. *Text: SC 23 and the mapping of interpretation*

It is the argument of this study that the interest with biblical topography is partly related to the ways in which this may furnish the text with a material quality that sustains the understanding *in carne*. In Bernard's texts we face cities with moats, walls, and towers, gardens of fragrant delights, and arid deserts. The author's attention to detail in these descriptions may indeed call to mind the much less subtle itinerary of Egeria. But Jerome's etymological analyses also resound. Not that Bernard cares much for etymology; but his textual tenacity, his specific enquiries into the nature and meaning of terms at times appears to be a flourishing version of the Church Father's learned studies. Finally, the Augustinian ideas of the two cities resound throughout, topographically and typologically. Of the TO-map, however, there is no trace.

First and foremost, the examples called upon in this chapter, topographical representations and Cassian alike, point to analogical stratifications of meaning. The representations of biblical topography imply a concern with its semantic layers, pre-eminently that of the literal meaning and that of a meaning pertaining to spiritual insights, whether related to the soul, the Church, or the celestial city.

By way of provisional conclusion we shall turn to SC 23 in which Bernard goes through the trajectory of the understanding of Scripture; from the historical sense of the garden, via the moral understanding in the cellar, to the spiritual or mystical insight in the chamber.[53] Here the biblical text of the Song is at once an interpretative remedy and the object of interpretation. The sermon further attests to one instance of evocation and exploration of a spiritual topography through textual mapping.

> 'The King has brought me into his rooms' (Song 1.3). This is where the fragrance comes from, this is the goal of our running. She had said that we must run, drawn by that fragrance, but did not specify our destination. So it is to these rooms that we run, drawn by the fragrance that issues from them. The bride's keen senses have been quick to detect it, so eager is she to experience it in all its fullness.[54]

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[53] For an in-depth analysis of the dynamics of this sermon, see Pranger 1994, 51–84.

[54] "Introduxit me Rex in cellaria sua (Song 1.3). Ecce unde odor, ecce quo curritur. Dixerat quia currendum, et in quo currendum; sed quo currendum esset non dixerat. Ergo ad cellaria curritur, et curritur in odore qui ex ipsis procedit, sponsa illum

With these words, the sermon is launched. This fullness is the goal for which the bride longs, and there is much impatience implied in the terms of the initial passage just quoted: six variants of *curro* (run, hasten) in five lines with the addition of *procedo* (advance, proceed), supplemented by the alertness of the bride—all expressed in breathlessly brief sentences. But as the sermon unravels, it turns out that the haste is perhaps less acute, or at any rate that there are miles to go before we rest. First, Bernard presents the exchange between the eager bride invited by the king and the bridesmaids who, being slower, are left outside. The bride, however, promises to share her joy. Bernard concludes this part:

> Since the implications of the text are clear from what I have said, let us now try to discover the spiritual meaning of the storerooms. Further on there is mention of a garden and a bedroom, both of which I join to these rooms for the purpose of this present discussion. When examined together the meaning of each becomes clearer. By your leave then, we shall search the Sacred Scriptures for these three things, the garden, the storeroom, the bedroom. […] Let the garden, then, represent the plain, unadorned historical sense of Scripture, the storeroom its moral sense, and the bedroom the mystery of divine contemplation.[55]

Thus Bernard introduces his scriptural plan. First come the gardens, in which there are men of many virtues: like fruitful trees in a Paradise of God,[56] replete with cedars, olive trees, and palms from the Psalms.[57]

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solita sua sagacitate praesentiente, et cupiente in ipsius plenitudinem introduci." SC 23.I.1; Winkler V: 324. Walsh's translation, II: 25.

[55] "Nunc quoniam litterae consequentia, ex his quae praetaxavimus, manifesta est, videamus iam de cellariis quid spiritualiter sentire debeamus. In consequentibus mentio fit etiam de horto et de cubiculo, quae ambo nunc adiungo istis cellariis et in praesentem disputationem assumo; nam simul tractata melius ex invicem innotescent. Et quaeramus, si placet, tria ista in Scripturis sanctis, hortum, cellarium, cubiculum. […] Sit itaque hortus plana ac simplex historia, sit cellarium moralis sensus, sit cubiculum arcanum theoricae contemplationis." SC 23.II.3; Winkler V: 328. Walsh's translation, II: 28. Also SC 16.I.1 refers to biblical interpretation in locational terms, complaining about the dark forest of hidden allegories (*silva umbrosa latebrosaque allegoriarum*) in order to reach the plain of the moral sense (*planities moralium sensuum*); Winkler V: 226–228. This is an echo of, primarily, Gregory the Great, Lubac 1959, II: 587–591.

[56] With reference to Ezek 31.9, Vulgate: "omnia ligna voluptatis quae erat in paradiso Dei".

[57] As representative examples of the references made in this passage may be mentioned: NRSV (Ps 92.12): "The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree, and grow like a cedar in Lebanon"; Vulgate (Ps 91.13): "iustus ut palma florebit ut cedrus in Libano multiplicatur" and NRSV (Ps 52.8): "But I am like a green olive tree in the house of God. I trust in the steadfast love of God forever and ever"; Vulgate (Ps 51.10): "ego sicut oliva virens in domo Dei speravi in misericordia Dei in saeculum sempieternum".

These scriptural indications point to Creation, signified by the sowing of the garden, and reconciliation which is indicated by the germination; for when "the Just one" rained from above, a Saviour sprouted from the earth (Isa 45.8). This hortological part concludes:

> Renewal however is to take place at the end of the world. Then there will be 'a new heaven and a new earth' (Rev 21.1) and the good will be gathered from the midst of the wicked like fruit from a garden, to be set at rest in the storehouse of God. As Scripture says: 'In that day the branch of the Lord shall be beautiful and glorious, and the fruit of the land raised on high.' (Isa 4.2). Here you have the three aspects of time represented by the garden in the historical sense.[58]

This exposition of the garden is sensory and material in its vegetative abundance. Trunks and branches, rain and reaping. There is a certain doggedness in the way in which one arboreal passage after another is lined up. It is not the etymological but the biological semantics of "tree" that Bernard is here exploiting. The exposition of the garden is also historical in the extensive meaning of that word, stretching from Isaiah's Paradise of God to the new Jerusalem of Revelation. And in this respect, it transcends the doctrinal implications of the literal sense according to Cassian. Other kinds of transcendence are at play. This is not a matter of reflecting the literal meaning of a biblical text. In a rather brief passage, Bernard exerts a trans-biblical historical sense through a focus on imagery pertaining to nature as a vestige and a herald of creation. This is the carnal, in the sense of material, reality of God's history.

The passages on the moral teaching related to the storerooms are very different in shape. They form a moral teaching. Here are many fewer scriptural references, and the presentation is marked by paranaeic density. Bernard unravels the fear and discipline inspired by monastic superiors and the distinction between those who are capable of teaching and governing and those who are not. It seems that these passages are not primarily an exposition of Scripture but of Chapter: the moral sense of Scripture fleshed out in monastic life.

Then comes the last and final stage, the contemplative sense related to the *cubiculum*. Once again, there is a change of colouring. There is a

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[58] "Porro reparatio futura est in fine saeculi. Erit enim caelum novum et terra nova, et colligentur boni de medio malorum, tamquam fructus de horto, in Dei promptuaria reponendi. IN DIE ILLA ERIT, ut scriptum est, GERMEN DOMINI IN MAGNIFICENTIA ET GLORIA, ET FRUCTUS TERRAE SUBLIMIS (Isa 4.2). Habes igitur tria tempora in horto historici sensus." SC 23.II.4; Winkler V: 330. Walsh's translation, II: 29.

return to Scripture but in another vein. References are made to biblical figures who have been allotted a place with the Lord: the repentant woman at his feet (Lk 10.39), Thomas not only at but in his side (Jn 20.27), John on his breast (Jn 13.25), Peter in the Father's bosom (Mt 16.17), and Paul in the third heaven (2 Cor 12.2).[59] These figures, not so much models as fellow believers, attest to a proximity and synchronicity with Scripture. The pace is also transformed. Bernard proffers his own experiences in this regard in an abrupt, alert passage where, one may argue, he syntactically conveys much of the restless ambiguity and contradiction that he describes by means of insertions:

> But I shall tell you how far I have advanced, or imagine I have advanced; and you should not accuse me of boasting, because I reveal it solely in the hope of helping you. The bridegroom who exercises control over the whole universe, has a special place from which he decrees his laws and formulates plans as guidelines in weight, measure and number for all things created. This is a remote and secret place, but not a place of repose. For although as far as in him lies he arranges all things sweetly—the emphasis is on arranging—and the contemplative who perchance reaches that place is not allowed to rest and be quiet. In a way that is wondrous yet delightful he teases the awe-struck seeker till he reduces him to restlessness.[60]

In this place, the bride

> Experiences a repose full of sweetest surprise and wondrous peace, but her wakeful heart endures the lassitude of avid desire and laborious effort. Job referred to this when he said: 'Lying in bed I wonder, 'When will it be day?' Having risen I think, 'How slowly evening comes!' (Job 7.4). Do you gather from these words that a person in pursuit of holiness sometimes finds sweetness bitter and wants to be rid of it, and at other times finds that same bitterness attractive?[61]

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[59] SC 23.IV.9.

[60] "Sed audite quousque pervenerim, aut me pervenisse putaverim. Neque enim iactantiae deputandum est, quod in vestros pando profectus. Est locus apud sponsum, de quo sua iura decernit et disponit consilia ipse universitatis gubernator, leges constituens omni creaturae, pondus, et mensuram, et numerum. Est locus iste altus et secretus, sed minime quietus. Nam etsi ipse, quantum in se est, disponit omnia suaviter, disponit tamen; et contemplantem, qui forte eo loci pervenerit, quiescere non permittit; sed mirabiliter, quamvis delectabiliter, rimantem et admirantem fatigat, redditque inquietum." SC 23.IV.11; Winkler V: 338–340. Walsh's translation, II: 35. The twisted assonance *rimantem et admirantem* may be said to add to the linguistic jaggedness of the passage—or in the words of Mohrmann concerning another text: "Le rythme nerveux et rapide […]" Mohrmann 1958, xxvi.

[61] "[…] suavissimi stuporis placidaeque admirationis sentire quietem, in vigiliis vero inquietae nihilominus curiositatis ac laboriosae exercitationis pati se fatigationem sig-

Evidently, this is not what the bride set out to obtain in restless longing. This chamber indeed only seems to double the craving for peace that set the sermon moving in the first place. Another meander is introduced, dealing with the encounter with God as judge and teacher in the second bedroom before, at last, peace falls on bride as well, it seems, as on language:

> But there is a place where God is seen in tranquil rest, where he is neither Judge nor Teacher but bridegroom. To me—for I do not speak for others—this is truly the bedroom to which I have sometimes gained happy entrance. Alas! how rare the time, and how short the stay![62]

Here, the bride, in a dense conglomeration of biblical passages, finds her sin forgiven, and is happy and joyful. In this third bedroom the king is met with in privacy.

> The God of peace pacifies all things, and to gaze on this stillness is to find repose. It is to catch sight of the King who, when the crowds have gone after the day-long hearing of cases in his law-courts, lays aside the burden of responsibility, goes at night to his place, and enters his bedroom with a few companions whom he welcomes to the intimacy of his private suite.[63]

Identification should be with the few friends of the king, but after the restlessness, vigilance, judging, and fear that the reader has been taken through, the relieved leisure of the king is as palpable as the cedars of the garden.

In short, this homiletic exposition of the three senses of Scripture may resemble an exegetical recipe, but the apparent simplicity of the discourse of 'telling' is misleading compared to the complexity of the level of 'showing'. The progression from the material implications of the historical sense to the contemplation of the fulfilment has none of the step-wise linearity indicated at first. Rather, as Bernard announced

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nificat. Hinc beatus Iob: SI DORMIERO, ait, DICO: QUANDO CONSURGAM? ET RURSUM EXSPECTABO VESPERAM (Job 7.4). Sentisne in his verbis sanctam animam velle interdum molestam quodammodo declinare suavitatem, eamdemque rursum suavem molestiam affectare?" SC 23.IV.11; Winkler V: 340. Walsh's translation, II: 35.

[62] "Sed est locus ubi vere quiescens et quietus cernitur Deus: locus omnino, non iudicis, non magistri, sed sponsi, et qui mihi quidem,—nam de aliis nescio—, plane cubiculum sit, si quando in illum contigerit introduci. Sed, heu! rara hora et parva mora!" SC 23.VI.15; Winkler V: 344. Walsh's translation, II: 38.

[63] "Tranquillus Deus tranquillat omnia, et quietum aspicere, quiescere est; cernere est Regem post diurnas forensium quasi lites causarum, dimissis a se turbis, curarum molestias declinantem, petentem de nocte diversorium, cubiculum introeuntem cum paucis, quos hoc secreto et hac familiaritate dignatur […]" SC 23.VI.16; Winkler V: 346. Walsh's translation, II: 40.

when he launched his "search in Scripture" for the three chambers, the three senses become clearer when seen together. And indeed the redeeming renewal experienced by the soul in the chamber is a provisional version of the future restoration of man in the image of God anticipated in the historical sense. Just as God as judge and teacher in the second chamber echoes the teacher and administer of discipline depicted in relation to the storerooms of the moral sense. And do not the law-suits that have so exhausted the king in the third chamber chime with those carried against the bride in the second chamber? The three senses are interwoven and interdependent. And no matter how great her haste, the bride's interpretational route must go through all of them.

Mapping is an act of exposition, mapping of biblical topographies preeminently so. Bernard's textual representations of soteriological topography aim at representing the biblical locations but first and foremost they aim at conveying their meaning. A meaning, that is, departing from an understanding *in carne* and moving towards an understanding *in spiritu*.

TOPOGRAPHIES

The geographical reality that Bernard maps is basically that of soteri-
ology. Salvation history, that is, hinged on locations: from the creation
in Paradise to terrestrial reality with a view to celestial beatitude. It is a
landscape in continual change depending on the textual point of view.
Paradise may be in view (Par VII); but at other times, terrestrial incar-
ceration is all there seems to be (Sept 1.4). It may seem that terrestrial
carnality is overthrown in the *paradisus claustralis* of the monastery (Div
42.4), or that the monastery is the forecourt of the celestial Jerusalem
(Ep 64). At the same time, however, the monastic walls may be depicted
as a wholly inadequate protection when it comes to the assaults of car-
nal yearnings (QH 3.5), and also monks may be represented as caught
in the Babylonian captivity (Sept 1.4). Heaven may appear close in the
momentary union of bride and bridegroom in the anticipatory *cubicu-
lum* (SC 23), yet is unattainably distant when the bridegroom disappears
(SC 74). Terrestrial carnality may be nuanced as thraldom in Egypt or
captivity in Babylon, as exile or incarceration. Christ may be envisaged
as the baby in the crib, the man on the cross, the travelling companion
on the road, or the king in the chamber.

I. *Textual topographies: Prolegomena*

Mapping spiritual topographies is all about exploring and representing
the conditions and potentials of man in terms of places and locations. It
should be noted—and borne in mind—that Bernard at times appears
a reluctant cartographer. Like Augustine, as we shall see, he attempts to
evade the spatial illusion, as it were, of the spiritual approach to God:
"This approach is not a movement from place to place but from bright-
ness to brightness […]".[1] Frequently, however, it is the cartographic zeal
that shows and which we shall here keep in focus.

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[1] "Nec locis sane accedendum, sed claritatibus […]" SC 31.I.3; Winkler V: 490.
Walsh's translation, II: 126.

When Bernard maps soteriological topographies, he designates the different topoi by means of signatures. These signatures are either names (Babylon, Jerusalem, Egypt), landscapes (wilderness, city, garden), or essential inhabitants associated with specific places (Nebuchadnezzar, David, Pharaoh), and they imply both a designation and a context of symbolic meaning. The references may also be less direct. For instance a sentence such as Ex 14.25 "Let us flee from the Israelites, for the Lord is fighting for them against Egypt" alluding to the cries of the Egyptians just before the Red Sea closes upon them, may invoke the basic tension between Egypt and Israel. In this chapter, we shall approach first the more direct references which address the referential dynamics of the cartographic codes to be found in Bernard's textual mapping, and second the interaction partly between the place and its spiritual connotations, partly between the various places and the topographical whole. Our point of departure is taken, however, in quite another approach to the issue of textual topographies.

1. *"Lokal" and "Raum"*

The literary function of places and their symbolic connotations has been elucidated by H. Meyer in his analysis of "Raumgestaltung und Raumsymbolik in der Erzählkunst" (1957). Meyer's study is expressly inspired by Cassirer's spatial conceptions but contests Cassirer's sharp distinction between the mythical and the aesthetic space. In Meyer's view, the freedom of emotion and imagination and the presentation's *Gegenständlichkeit* are not exclusively applicable to the aesthetic space as Cassirer claims. On the one hand, Meyer argues, representations of both kinds of space imply dependency on an object, on the other hand, the freedom allegedly reigning in the aesthetic space is only partial, tied as it is to given features of distance and proximity, height and depth, openness and closure.

In short, Meyer fuses the magical charge surrounding each place in Cassirer's mythical space with the creative representation and reinterpretation pertaining to his aesthetic space.[2] He thus proposes that a mythically tinged symbolism is present also in textual reflections of aesthetic space. This leads to a challenge of Lessing's distinction between painting as "Figuren und Farben in dem Raume" and poetry

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[2] See Cassirer 1975, especially 27–33.

as "artikulierte Töne in der Zeit".[3] According to Meyer, the focus on mythical connotations of textual spaces entails a much more sophisticated and comprehensive view as to the ability of texts to represent space.

It may be argued that Meyer's pioneering project of examining the means by which spatial representations may add to the structure of a text has since been somewhat outdistanced; at least his regret that the question of *Raumgestaltung* has played such a modest role in the interpretation of verbal works of art has lost some of its momentum. Even so, his basic demarcations remain helpful in the examination of spatial structures, of places and their connotations. In this study, we shall maintain Meyer's idioms as technical terms and distinguish between an empirical-geographical "Lokal" and a spiritually and symbolically marked "Raum", arguing that although Meyer's distinction is challenged and modified by the ways in which Bernard administers his topographical material, his argument may help clarify structures in the Bernardine representations of place.

In Meyer, *Lokal* refers to a factual, empirical locus; actual cities, streets, locations, and so on. Meyer defines *Lokal* as a place which is traceable on a map and which has strong implications of familiarity. A much more composite feature, *Raum* refers to a locus which is primarily defined by its ability to carry implicit or explicit symbolical connotations and its independence of factuality. A *Raum* is the construct of the author and, Meyer argues, a literary element in its own right just like time, point of view, and narrative structure.[4]

a. *Lokal* and *Raum* in Fontane and Goethe

As a point of departure for his literary tour in search of *Räume* and *Lokale*, Meyer refers to Theodor Fontane's *Die Poggenpuhls* (1894). Fontane locates the widow Poggenpuhl in a flat positioned between the Berlin *Lokale* Matthäikirchhof and Kulmstrasse in the vicinity of tombs and memorials on the one hand and *Schulzes Bonbonfabrik* on the other. This is a position chiming with the widow's preoccupation with death, and her feeding on coughing drops and comfits.[5] The example centres

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[3] Meyer 1975, 209–210. See also Lessing, *Laokoon oder Über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* (1766), XVI, 245–246.

[4] Meyer 1975, 211 and 231.

[5] Meyer 1975, 211–212.

on realism and *Lokale*. Yet a tinge of *Raum* is added through the symbolic undercurrents related to the cemetery, which is not only the specific Matthäikirchhof but also more generally a heavily charged topos of memory and decay, as well as the factory which is at once the specific factory in Kulmstrasse and more symbolically a place of both sweets and unsentimental, perhaps even bleak, inner-city industrialization pointing to the shabby realities of the once glorious Poggenpuhls.

Later literature, Meyer shows, proved more experimental with regard to the symbolic potential of the *Raum*. Nevertheless, it is his reading of Goethe's *Novelle* (1828) that serves as the point of departure for this exposition of his idea of literary *Räume*. In what may seem a digression from our main course, we shall here linger briefly over Goethe's text, which brings out elucidating examples of topographical representation, and over Meyer's comments, which provides us with a few analytical key conceptions. First, let us make a brief survey of Goethe's scenarios.

He opens his *Novelle* in the court of the prince's castle where a company of hunters are ready to depart into the autumnal morning mist. Then follow landscapes conveyed through intermediaries, partly the sandy plains and the ruin of the ancestral castle set in mountainous forest land both of which are viewed by the princess in her telescope, partly the particulars of the castle ruin, now overgrown, and represented to her in drawings meticulously displayed and commented on by her uncle. The princess's decision to go to the ruin gives rise to a description of the sceneries that she passes: the market with its conglomeration of deferent subjects, promiscuous crowds with colourful clothes, and exotic animals; the orderly horticultural landscapes, the sylvan vistas with impressive rocks and trees of all shades. Eventually, we are shown the burning town in which the prince finds himself having retired from the hunt.

At this point, the topography seems to have been put in place and direct representation of landscape is replaced by the dramatic encounter with the exotic animals which have escaped in the fire; first the killing of the tiger by the princess's companion, Honorio, then the calming of the lion by the song of a boy. In addition to the display of a most diversified topography, Goethe explores the possibilities of point of view: the telescope has been mentioned; moreover the story shares the point of view of the princess as she considers the people from her horse in pleased wonderment: and follows her when a little later she ascends even further onto the rocks near the ruin to view the

realm from a bird's-eye perspective and glance back at the castle from where she earlier beheld the castle ruin. Finally, Honorio's bringing the telescope on their ride allows for new compressed topographical perspectives, for instance that of the burning town. The landscapes are described in suggestive detail, but Meyer warns

> Wollten wir diese durchgängige Bestimmtheit und Klarheit des Räumlichen aber einfach als 'Realismus' auffassen, so wären wir auf sehr falscher Fährte. Der Dichter rückt keineswegs der buntscheckigen Wirklichkeit durch direkte Schilderung auf den Leib; sein Verfahren läßt sich, mit Goethes eigener Terminologie, nicht als 'einfache Nachahmung der Natur', sondern durchaus als 'Stil' bezeichnen.[6]

As an instance of this, Meyer points to the as it were filtered impressions of the landscape, and the well-organized suspension of the plot between the new castle and town on the one hand and the castle ruin in the mountainous woods on the other. Already from the beginning of the story, the climactic killing of the tiger in that latter location is forestalled through the goal of the hunting party's expedition and the telescopy of the princess. Meyer asks:

> Was ist die Wirkung all dieser merkwürdigen Kunstgriffe? Es webt sich ein kompliziertes Netz von 'wiederholten Spiegelungen', die uns mit sanfter, aber unwiderstehlicher Gewalt die letzthinnige Identität von Besonderem und Allgemeinem, Tatsache und Sinn, Wirklichkeit und Idee zum Bewußtsein bringen.[7]

The landscapes are symbolically charged. Thus the waste and stony plain where Honorio kills the tiger, according to Meyer, reeks of profane correctness and secular duty. The inner court of the ruined castle where the lion is tamed through the boy's song has the mythological implications of Cassirer's mythical space but in a purely aesthetic symbolization. "Durch den symbolischen Charakter," Meyer concludes, "wird aber der Wirklichkeitsgrad dieser Räumlichkeiten nicht verflüchtigt."[8] The entire world of the story is thus both "wirklich" and "wahr" according to Goethe's own conception of symbolic *Wahrheit*: "Das ist die wahre Symbolik, wo das Besondere das Allgemeinere repräsentiert, nicht als Traum und Schatten, sondern als lebendig-augenblickliche Offenbarung des Unerforschlichen."[9]

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[6] Meyer 1975, 216.
[7] Meyer 1975, 220.
[8] Meyer 1975, 220.
[9] Goethe, *Maximen und Reflexionen* no. 314, quoted from Meyer 1975, 221.

This is all too brief a sketch of Meyer's readings, which range from Musil and Kafka back to Eichendorff, but in our context it is primarily the distinction between *Lokal* and *Raum* which is of interest. On the one hand, it offers a helpful terminology with regard to the characterization of different kinds of sites in texts; on the other hand, it is an expedient foil for the study of textual topographies in Bernard, and not least Bernard's exploitation of authorial points of view. In short, in Meyer we are left with one category of place dealing with actual named and traceable sites, and another embodying places the factuality of which lies within the text itself, and which are moreover heavily charged with more or less explicit symbolic connotations. Boiling down the two categories even further, we may distinguish between place names on the one hand and edifices, cityscapes, or landscapes on the other.

Anticipating the Bernardine versions of Meyer's categories, it may be suggested that a place such as Egypt is a *Lokal* whereas the locus of the wilderness is a *Raum*. But the categories are not all that tidy (nor does Meyer claim that they are). In Bernard, we are indeed dealing with both a group of places that have a factual ring such as Babylon, Egypt, and Jerusalem and places that are of a more unspecific character and have a symbolic mark such as the wilderness, the city, and the chamber of the bridegroom. Meyer's distinction among other things teaches us to see the extent to which these two categories overlap in Bernard.

II. *Textual topographies in Bernard*

As Meyer shows, the authorial introduction and employment of place is a crucial device in the moulding of a narrative not only with regard to the staging of the plot but also as an indication of mood, characteristics, existential circumstance, inclination, and so forth. In the same way, the topographical indications of the Bernardine texts are decisive devices in the basic juxtaposition of good and bad, virtues and vices, but their role is perhaps even more significant when it comes to the shaping of the contemplative *ductus* of the texts.

1. Lokal *and* Raum *in Bernard*

In Bernard's mapping of spiritual topography, we are faced with an often intricate combination of places that have a *Lokal*-character in that they are traceable in a particular soteriological landscape (Babylon,

Jerusalem, Egypt) and places that feature as *Räume* (wildernesses, cities, fortresses). More expressly than Meyer's literary examples, the *Lokale* dealt with here also carry a crucial baggage of symbolic connotations. It is by these connotations that they are given factuality, soteriological factuality that is, and it may be suggested that each *Lokal* is also a *Raum* in Meyer's sense of the term. Yet further differentiation must be made.

   The symbolic connotative potential of the *Räume* in focus is flexible. These landscapes may each of them be considered a reservoir of connotations which may be employed in a number of ways and with very diverse shades and qualities according to the immediate textual need. For instance, following a line in the interpretation of the Song of Songs from Origen and onwards, Bernard several times employs the sequence of garden, cellar, and chamber to describe the increasing profundity of biblical rumination and hence spiritual insight.[10] But, as we shall see, the garden does not equal the literal meaning of Scripture; elsewhere (Sent I.30), it is only the cellar which denominates Scripture, whereas the garden signifies virtues and the chamber the fullness of love. Furthermore, there are different degrees of connotative fixity even among this kind of locations, and the bridegroom's *cubiculum* is symbolically better-defined than both his garden and his cellar.

   An illuminating reflection of the flexible connotative potential of features such as those pertaining to landscape is offered by Bernard Silvestris in an exposition of the topos of the mountain:

> For the mountains are sometimes interpreted as the vices of pride, as in 'the mountains melted like wax' (Ps. 96:5; Mich. 1:4), and sometimes as rational and divine substances, as in 'the mountains around Jerusalem' (Ps. 124:2) […][11]

In other words, there is no general key to this kind of imagery. When employing the mountain as an allegory, the point of departure is not taken in the mountain as a comprehensive semantic whole but in selected characteristics which then serve as a basis for an interpretative elaboration. Thus, the mountain is metaphorically and symbolically functional because it suggests something high, but the mountain as

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[10] For instance Sent III.121, Div 92.1, and SC 23.3.
[11] "Per montes enim aliquando accipiuntur vitia elationis sicut ibi 'montes sicut cera fluxerant'; aliquando rationabiles et divine substantie ut ibi 'montes in circuitu Ierusalem […]'" *Commentum super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii* 6.182, 63. Schreiber and Maresca's translation, 62.

such does not in itself determine whether this something is highly good or highly bad.

Landscapes and edifices share this interpretative openness with for instance food, to mention another metaphorical favourite in the Bernardine vocabulary, or clothing. But unlike these other features, more or less allegorical landscapes and edifices willingly lend themselves to mergers with locations and topographies of biblical actuality thus finding their place within a larger biblical universe. Contrasted with the symbolic adaptability of the landscapes, the connotative qualities of the *Lokale* are generally fixed and stable. Fundamentally, each of them is qualified as negative or positive; there is no such thing as a neutral or open-ended reference to the topos of Babylon![12] As we shall see in Part II, however, there are further degrees and nuances; for instance the two diabolical topoi of Babylon and Egypt have each their distinct shade of evil.

Some of the connotations that go with specific places and landscapes are displayed in the course of the reading of the parables in Part II; in this context we shall linger over two different locations which play a leading role in the tradition in which Bernard is steeped and its cultivation of biblical features through homiletic and exegetical endeavour: the city and the wilderness. Both of these places display the connotative flexibility of Bernard Silvestris's mountain; each of them has light and dark versions. Furthermore, each of them is qualified by being in contrast with the other.

2. *Fortified cities*

The city, in Isidore of Seville's words, is both *urbs* and *civitas*: on the one hand a structure of buildings and walls, on the other hand its community of inhabitants.[13] When it comes to terminology, the boundaries are not clear-cut; in Bernard, for instance, where *civitas* is more frequent than *urbs*, the former may refer to the structure rather than the dwellers. Nor are the terms used quite so categorically in *De civitate Dei*.[14] In terms of semantic implications, however, the differentiation is fundamental.

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[12] Concerning this tendency towards polarization as a more general medieval trait, see Pearsall and Salter 1973, 44.

[13] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum Libri XX* XVI.2.1, PL 82.536.

[14] For a terminological survey, see van Oort 1991, 102–108.

The prevailing topos of the city as a walled structure is that of for-
tification. City and fortress are closely related. In the parables, where
plots thrive on city- and fortress-associations, *civitas*, *castrum*, and *castel-
lum* seem interchangeable. The narratives are crammed with soldiers,
sentinels, battle-lines, fortified walls, and siege engines. This deploy-
ment of military imagery and vocabulary may be thought of as a typical
12th century imprint, and all the imaginable implications may be con-
sidered a vestige of Bernard's own background in Burgundian chivalry.
This is all very well. But as Battles notes, the fortress is not only a
"timely outgrowth" of a feudal society on the traditional motif of the
city; it has its own scriptural foundations.[15] Old Testament accounts
of wars between kings, tribes, fathers and sons as well as more or less
symbolic references to the strength of God and his fighting back the
enemies of Israel offer an ever-animate source of martial allusions. The
topos of the fortified city is one of many instances sustaining the fusion
of horizons of the biblical text, the author, and the reader. And pre-
sumably it would take a good deal of analytical violence to decide just
where one stops and the other begins.

a. Fortified cities in *Intravit* sermons

One significant fortification is derived from Lk 10.38, the initiation of
the Mary and Martha story. The Vulgate version reads: "factum est
autem dum irent et ipse [Jesus] intravit in quoddam castellum".[16] This
text is read at the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, and Bernard
employs it as the point of departure of several sermons for that feast.
In the second sermon, the conjunction of entry and fortification spurs
a comprehensive elaboration based on three *castella* that Jesus enters.

First, the world is a *castellum* because it, however wide, is narrow
compared to the vast and immeasurable homeland of the Saviour;
the world may moreover be considered the stronghold of the armed
Prince of this world (Asspt 2.1). Second, the *castellum* entered by Jesus
is also related to that most confined lodging of the Virgin's womb
(*angustissimum uteri diversorium*). In this entry the Virgin proves herself
fortunate to have deserved to receive Jesus in a typology of Joshua

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[15] Battles 1971, 7.
[16] NRSV: "Now as they went on their way, he entered a certain village". See also
Cowling 1998, 58–59.

taking Jericho.[17] Third, the *castellum* of Lk 10.38 may be referred by way of *similitudo* to the *domus* and *castrum* of each man in which he may receive Jesus (Asspt 2.2). And the question is now how to guard one's own fortification (*castrum*). Why not, Bernard suggests, ask Paul, that vigorous general in the spiritual battle: Tell us, Apostle, how is your fortification guarded?[18] And Paul in the words of Romans and 1 Corinthians will then answer with a reference to an athlete's self-control, that he does not run aimlessly or box as though beating in the air, but punishes and enslaves his body, never letting it submit to sin.

The sermon continues with a depiction of the incarceration of the soul in its own house by conscience, reason, and memory. Jesus lifts the soul from this imprisonment. Through confession, he enters the *castellum*, breaks the bronze doors, and severs the iron lever (Ps 106.16) (Asspt 2.4). Bernard calls his reading a *similitudo* (Asspt 2.8), a juxtaposition of the *castellum* with its set of connotations and the graceful purging of sin in confession. The similitude draws on the *castellum*'s implications of siege and forceful liberation. Through associative threads constituted by overlapping of connotations and terminological coincidences Bernard thus links features of war with the biblical passage on Jesus' peaceful entry into a rural village in Judea, in an autonomous elaboration on the soul.

In Asspt 5, Lk 10.38 and its depiction of Jesus' entry into the *castellum* is read as an allusion to the fact that what Christ once did visibly, a single time and in one single place (*semel et in uno loco*), he now does invisibly daily and all over the world (*quotidie* and *ubique terrarum*).[19] And the single *castellum* of the womb, doubled many times in Christ's gracious acts, is nothing other than the human heart (*Quod est autem hoc castellum, nisi cor humanum*). This statement leads to a detailed account of the heart's defences. Before Christ enters, the fortification of the human heart is surrounded by the moat of desire (*cupiditas*) and enclosed by the walls of stubbornness (*obstinatio*); inside has been erected the Babylonian

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[17] Concerning the merger of the womb of the Virgin and the *thalamus* of the bride see also the discussion of Par VI.

[18] "Paulum magis interrogemus, utpote ducem strenuum militiae spiritualis. Dic nobis, Apostole, quae sit tui custodia castri?" Asspt 2.3; Winkler VIII: 536.

[19] This sentence plays on extension and contraction in a marked reversal of the nativity image of Nat 1.1 of the abbreviation of the divine Word, which is discussed in relation with Par VI.

tower (*turris Babylonica*). Like any city (*oppidum*), this one is also in need of sustenance, fortification, and arms. Its citizens feed on corporeal voluptuousness and secular vanity, and the hardness of their hearts is impenetrable to the arrows of the Word of God. The arguments of carnal wisdom provide them with the arms with which they fight back their enemies.

But at the entry of Christ, this castle is overthrown and a new, beautiful, and spiritual one is erected in its place. This fortification is now described in great detail. To cut things short, the desire for terrestrial things is replaced by the longing for heaven. The new walls are made by continence and the bastion by penitence. The fortification is based on the foundation of faith growing into the love of neighbour and the love of God which are positioned in the upper platform (*tabulatus*) and on the rampart (*propugnaculum*).

The scene thus set, Bernard moves on. In doing so, however, he steps out of the *castellum* of the human heart in order to enter from the outside: "But now we knock at its door, the doors of justice, so that they may be opened to us, and as we enter we see inside the great work of God […]".[20] The great work in progress inside the fortification is the construction at Mount Zion of the tower of the Gospel, by which the holy ones may ascend from the valley of tears to heaven with humble hearts and through the grace of God. The metamorphosis of the fortress is completed with the definition of the sustenance of the inhabitants of this fortress as the Word of God. Their fortification is continence and patience, and their arms have been described by Eph 6.14–17 as the breastplate of righteousness, the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit. In this passage, Bernard moves from the allegorical to the spatial implications of the *castellum*. With the knock on the door, the image assumes a three-dimensional character; and through this authorial grip the vertical axis constituted by the tower of the Gospel eventually takes on a more material form than that of the tower of Babylon.

This passage is an example of the complex ways in which the topographical element is rehearsed. On the one hand, the text smoothly mediates between the sites of Babylon and Zion, taking them for granted while at the same time making the exposition of each of them

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[20] "Sed iam pulsemus ad eius portas, portas scilicet iustitiae, ut aperiantur nobis, ingressique per eas videamus intus MAGNA OPERA DOMINI […] (Ps 110.2)" Asspt 5.3; Winkler VIII: 574.

one of the main themes of the sermon. On the other hand, the *castella* of the text are at first constructed in a somewhat schematic allegorical fashion, and assume palpability the moment they are knocked upon and entered. The passage moreover exhibits how a topos such as the *castellum* may be teamed with other thematic clusters. Not surprisingly, the issue of *militia Christi* introduced *qua* the reference to Ephesians looms in the *castellum*-context, and the topos thus functions as a passage to other motifs.

Lk 10.38 is also the point of departure of Div 48. In that text, the *castellum* into which Jesus has entered is voluntary poverty. Through this poverty, Jesus shares with Mary and Martha the protection from envy. The sermon, which has the brevity of a *sententia*, presents the *castellum* as a protective stronghold which encloses Jesus with Mary and Martha within its walls. This text thus views the *castellum* in yet another light, employing the protective rather than defensive characteristics of the stronghold in a laud of poverty.

A brief glance at two other sermons on the *Intravit* text of Lk 10.38 throws further light on the ways in which the *castellum* topos is employed. First Honorius Augustodunensis. Honorius furnishes the *castellum* related to the virgin's womb with additional tall towers from which enemies may be fought and with walls that protect the citizens inside. The towers are humility reaching towards heaven, Honorius tells us, and the walls are chastity and the other virtues.[21] Aelred of Rievaulx's *sermo* 19 is also for the feast of the assumption of Mary. In his text, Aelred takes a look at the components of the *castellum* into which Christ has entered, urging his audience to prepare their fortification so that Jesus may enter; that is, strengthening its moat, walls, and tower. These three elements are rendered in turn as the humility of the moat, the chastity of the walls, and the charity of the mighty tower which must be higher than the remainder of the edifice. Each of these three virtues the Virgin had in abundance; and each of them is needed to secure the stronghold of the spiritual fortress in order that it may be worthy of the spiritual entering of Christ. This entry reiterates his corporeal entry into the bodily stronghold of Mary.[22]

It is noteworthy that whereas Honorius relates humility to the towers because humility is what makes man strive for heaven, Aelred's exposition takes quite the opposite direction and associates humility with the

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[21] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sermo de Assumptione Sanctae Mariae*, PL 172.991.
[22] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Sermo* 19, 1–17.

moat because it stems from an acknowledgement of terrestrial fragility. The two sermons lucidly point to the repository-character of a topos such as the fortress and its components. It offers a basic structure which may be clad, as it were, with a metaphorical substance that varies from text to text.

Another biblical reference which plays a role in Bernard's exposition of the fortified city is Isa 26.1, in Bernard's words: "To our fortified city Zion: The Saviour sets up walls and rampart in her" ("urbs fortitudinis nostrae Sion: Salvator ponetur in ea murus et antemurale").[23] Differing from Jerome, whose commentary on the verse states that the *urbs fortitudinis* is Jesus,[24] Bernard generally associates this fortified city with the human being. As one example may be mentioned Sent III.24[25] which takes its point of departure in "The village [or fortress] into which two disciples were sent by the Lord" (*De castello quo mittuntur a Domino duo discipuli*), a reference to Mt 21.1–2 where Jesus sends two disciples into Bethphage to fetch the donkey and the colt for his entry into Jerusalem.

The *sententia* expounds the New Testament passage and adds the Isaiah-reference. In this exposition, man is governed by his will proper, but through the act of confession turns the place of the Devil into the city of Zion. This city has walls of humility and a rampart of patience. It moreover has towers which are the ears and eyes of man, and these must be shut to the Devil yet opened unto God. Its bridge is the body which must be accessible to the Spirit but not to the Devil and to vices. This exposition moves in the same circles as those applying to Lk 10.38 but adds yet another side to it, associating it specifically with the human body: so that the ears and eyes are gates of access.[26]

At a first glance, it may be argued that in bringing together biblical passages and martial images these texts reveal a considerable interpretative energy. Not least is this the case with Luk 10.38. The original biblical reference does not in itself have connotations of war. The Latin term *castellum*, which in Vulgate is employed as a translation of the Greek word κώμη (village or hamlet), has implications of fortification which

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[23] Neither Jerome nor Vulgate have "Sion" in Isa 26.1: Bernard's allusions to the passage do.

[24] Jerome, *Commentariorum in Esaiam* VIII.26.1; I.2: 329.

[25] Winkler IV: 420–422.

[26] Another version of the theme of accessibility is found in the elaborations of the entry of Gabriel into the enclosed chamber of Mary of the homilies *in laudibus virginis matris*, for instance Miss 3.1.

leads the Assumption-liturgy and the three authors cited to explore the passage of Mary and Martha as a text about Christ entering a fortification. The architectural elements of this fortification may then be further elaborated. Moat, rampart, walls, towers, upper platform, and so forth duly follow. As we saw in the different representations of humility, the connotations of these components are neither fixed nor allegorically unequivocal. The fortified city offers a symbolic spatial structure smacking of defence, struggle, and reinforcement, but the symbolic quality of the different components of this structure are still so to speak to be supplied.

In short, the discourse of fortification is thus not primarily a matter of interpreting the Bible but of proposing a parabolic structure ripe with both analogous potential and room for experiential contributions. The *castellum* mediates between the biblical text and the message communicated to the monks.

b. Fortified cities in the sermons *In dedicatione ecclesiae*

One of Bernard's most impressive evocations of the fortification-motif appears in his sermons *In dedicatione ecclesiae*. There Bernard juxtaposes a range of fortified cities and houses which form quite a nest of Chinese boxes. As he notes, "the house is holy through the bodies, the bodies through the souls, and the souls through the Spirit that dwells in them".[27] But besides this hierarchical structure, the sermons also exhibit a thematic stratification related to the different designations of the house of God in his various guises:

> I nevertheless believe that you are not satisfied till you have learned more clearly which house deserves to be called and to be the [house] of the father, the temple of God, the city of this King, and who indeed, finally, the bride of this glorious groom.[28]

The answer to this burning question is left hanging in the air through five printed pages, until at last: "I have not forgotten it but say with awe and reverence: it is us. It is, I say, us; but in the heart of God […]".[29]

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[27] "[…] sancta est propter corpora domus, corpora propter animas, animae propter Spiritum inhabitantem." Ded 4.4; Winkler VIII: 840.

[28] "Necdum tamen vobis arbitror satisfactum, donec evidentius quae domus huius Patrisfamilias, quod hoc Dei templum, quae civitas Regis istius, quaenam denique huius tam gloriosi Sponsi sponsa dici et esse meruerit addiscatis." Ded 5.2; Winkler VIII: 848.

[29] "Neque enim oblitus sum, sed cum metu et reverentia dico: Nos sumus. Nos,

Across these six sermons, various textual mansions are constructed. During this construction, characteristics of one house spill over allegorically into the next, as when the conjunction of stones in the physical edifice is turned into a matter of unity within that of the community as well as that of the soul. The framework of the sermons is constituted by the material edifice of the church the dedication of which is commemorated at the feast. References to particulars of the dedication ritual and the materiality of the church building recur several times: "For as this house of God was dedicated by the hands of the bishop […]",[30] states Bernard, going on to refer to the aspersion, inscription, unction, illumination, and benediction "done visibly to the walls before" (*in parietibus visibiliter praecesserunt*, Ded 1.4), to *ecclesia praesens manifestius* (Ded 4.1), and finally once again to the ritual benediction of the building (Ded 6.1).

At the same time, this material outlook is constantly challenged through references to the living stones of the monks, reaching a peak in Ded 6: "Now, is God's concern with the stones? It is not the walls that speak, but humans: 'He cares for us' (1 Pet 5.7)".[31] For, Bernard states, it is the bodies of the monks that are the real focus of the feast (Ded 1.1–4). The feast pertains to the community, not only those who were present at the dedication of the church but all of those doing military service for God in that place till the end of the world (*quicumque usque in finem saeculi Domino sunt in hoc loco militaturi*, Ded 1.3). In this community, unity must be sought, and it is necessary that everybody is connected and cemented together by mutual love (*omnes nos connecti et conglutinari necesse est, mutua utique caritate*, Ded 2.4).

The feast, however, also concerns each of them. The body is the habitation of the soul but in turn has a dwelling-place of its own:

> Now, O soul, you live in the sublime house that has been created for you by God. I am speaking of the body which he has thus joined, thus furnished, and thus arranged, that you may live gloriously and agreeably. But also for the body itself has he created a lofty house, most suitable and beautiful. I am speaking of this sensory and inhabitable world.[32]

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inquam, sumus, sed in corde Dei […]" Ded 5.8; Winkler VIII: 858.

[30] "Quando enim domus ista per manus pontificum dedicata est Domino […]" Ded 1.3; Winkler VIII: 814.

[31] "Numquid de lapidibus cura est Deo? Non parietes dicunt, sed homines: Ipsi enim CURA EST DE NOBIS (1 Pet 5.7)." Ded 6.1; Winkler VIII: 862.

[32] "Iam vero, o anima, tu quidem sublimi in domo habitas, quae a Deo tibi fabricata est. Corpus hos dico, quod sic compegit, quod sic aptavit, quod sic ordinavit, ut gloriose in eo et delectabiliter habitares. Sed et ipsi corpori domum fecit excelsam,

Both body and world are only temporary, however, mere tents com-
pared to the eternal house in heaven (cf. 2 Cor 5.1).

Then there is the place for God (*locus Domino*) that the soul should
exert itself to find in return for the abodes created for man by God.
But where is the place for this edifice and who may be the architect
of it? (*Ubi invenitur huius aedificii locus, aut quis poterit esse architectus*).[33] The
soul is a fitting location for the abode of God for she is created in his
image. But interior unity must be secured: "Because 'every kingdom
divided against itself becomes a desert, and house falls on house' (Lk
11.17) and Christ will not enter if the house walls are leaning and
the boundary walls have tumbled."[34] Thus there must be no enmity
between members (*membra*) of the soul: *ratio*, *voluntas*, and *memoria*,[35] and
bellum intestinum must be avoided (Ded 2.3).

The final house in this homiletic structure of abodes is the eternal
house in heaven (with reference to 2 Cor 5.1) where building and dedi-
cation are completed at once. This is a house built from the stones of
angels and human beings (Ded 1.6), held together by the double mor-
tar of full insight and perfect love (*Duplici igitur sibi cohaerent lapides illo*

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aptissimam et decoram. Dico autem sensibilem hunc et inhabitabilem mundum." Ded
2.1; Winkler VIII: 820–822.

[33] Ded 2.2. The passage is perhaps founded on 1 Cor 3.10–16, NRSV: "According
to the grace of God given to me, like a skilled master builder I laid a foundation and
someone else is building on it. Each builder must choose with care how to build on
it. For no one can lay any foundation other than the one that has been laid; that
foundation is Jesus Christ. Now if anyone builds on the foundation with gold, silver,
precious stones, wood, hay, straw—the work of each builder will become visible, for
the Day will disclose it because it will be revealed with fire […] If the work that
has been built on the foundation survives, the builder will receive a reward. If the
work is burned up, the builder will suffer a loss; the builder will be saved, but only as
through fire. Do you not know that you are God's temple, and that God's spirit dwells
in you?"; Vulgate: "secundum gratiam Dei quae data est mihi ut sapiens architectus
fundamentum posui alius autem superaedificat unusquisque autem videat quomodo
superaedificet fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum
est qui est Christus Iesus si quis autem superaedificat supra fundamentum hoc aurum
argentum lapides pretiosos ligna faenum stipulam uniuscuiusque opus manifestum
erit dies enim declarabit quia in igne revelabitur […] si cuius opus manserit quod
superaedificavit mercedem accipiet si cuius opus arserit detrimentum patietur ipse
autem salvus erit sic tamen quasi per ignem nescitis quia templum Dei estis et Spiritus
Dei habitat in vobis".

[34] "[…] quoniam OMNE REGNUM IN SE IPSUM DIVISUM DESOLABITUR ET DOMUS SUPRA
DOMUM CADET, nec intrabit Christus, ubi fuerint parietes declinati et maceriae depul-
sae." Ded 2.3; Winkler VIII: 824.

[35] For further discussion of the Bernardine version on this Augustinian division of
the soul, see Chapter Four.

glutino, cognitionis plenae et perfectae dilectionis, Ded 1.7). This house contrasts favourably with the present habitation:

> That house is then more securely joined, because it is a lasting dwelling; this, however, is the tent of the warrior and coheres less perfectly. Without any doubt, that is the house of joy; this is that of soldiery. That is the house of praise; this is that of prayer. This, I say, is the 'city of our strength' (Isa 26.1), that is the city of our peace. Accordingly, if we are victorious here, we shall be glorious there; we shall have a crown instead of a helmet and sceptre and palms instead of a sword […][36]

This (present) house, Bernard states, is the stronghold of the eternal king, but it is besieged by enemies (*Domus haec, fratres, aeterni Regis est oppidum, sed obsessum ab inimicis*, Ded 3.1). In the third dedication sermon, Bernard sets out to explore the fortification, arms, and sustenance of this city of God. First he depicts the walls of continence and ramparts of patience (*murus continenti, antemurale paenitentia est*, Ded 3.1). He goes on to inspect the spiritual arms (*arma spiritualia*) of prayer, simplicity, mercy, humility, charity, clemency, and obedience (Ded 3.2). Finally, he provisions the fortification with the Word of God: the monks often hear preaching and even more frequently holy readings (*sermones frequenter, et frequentius sacras lectiones audimus*, Ded 3.2). But furthermore, they have the bread of tears (*panis lacrimarum*), the bread of obedience (*oboedientiae panis*), and above all the bread of life from heaven, the body of the Lord Saviour (*Habemus super omnia de caelo panem vivum, corpus Domini Salvatoris*, Ded 3.2).[37]

Then follows an extensive passage on the traitors (*proditores*) who betray this *castrum Domini* by introducing enemies and thereby discord (Ded 3.3). The requirement for military appurtenances and fortification is then epitomized with reference to Isa 62.6: "Upon your walls,

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[36] "Illa ergo domus connexa firmius est, tamquam in aeternum mansura; haec, tamquam tabernaculum bellatorum, minus sibi perfecte cohaeret. Illa nimirum domus laetitiae, ista militiae est; illa domus laudis, ista orationis. Haec, inquam, est URBS FORTITUDINIS NOSTRAE (Isa 26.1), illa est civitas requiei nostrae. Proinde, si victoriosi fuerimus hic, illic erimus gloriosi, habentes loco galeae diadema, sceptrum et palmam pro gladio […]" Ded 2.4; Winkler VIII: 826. The passage continues with oppositions grounded in the display of equipment of the soldier of Christ in Eph 6.14–17.

[37] Alludes to Ps 79.6, NRSV (Ps 80.5): "You have fed them with the bread of tears"; Vulgate: "cibabis nos pane lacrimarum", Ps 103.15, NRSV (104.15): "[…] and bread to strengthen the human heart"; Vulgate: "[…] et panis cor hominis confirmat", and Jn 4.34, NRSV: "Jesus said to them, 'My food is to do the will of him who sent me'"; Vulgate: "dicit eis Iesus meus cibus est ut faciam voluntatem eius qui misit me".

Jerusalem, I have posted sentinels".[38] This need holds no relevance for the celestial Jerusalem:

> There is indeed our mother Jerusalem above, which is free (cf. Gal 4.26), but I hardly think that there are guards positioned on her walls, because in praise of her, the prophet sings: 'He has brought peace to your borders' (Ps 147.3). […] For our [walls], however, it is necessary to assign guards day and night. […] But you are merciful, Lord, and therefore cannot be content with the weak protection of our walls […][39]

Which is why an angelic guard has been assigned to those humans who have been set as superiors to others. As Bernard in Ded 5 approaches the character of the house of God—*Nos sumus*—he adds to the polychrome fortification-discourse that of Babylon and Jerusalem, to which we shall turn in a moment. Bernard addresses the peace which is the necessary complement of the monks' sanctification:

> It is that [peace] which make brothers live in unity in one way of life, building a new city for our king, himself a peacemaker, which is also called Jerusalem and which is the vision of peace. Because where a headless multitude is congregated without a treaty of peace, without observation of the law, without discipline and control, it is called not a people but a rabble: it is not a society but a confusion; it exhibits only Babylon, of Jerusalem it has nothing."[40]

Having swept his audience all the way through bodies, fortresses, houses, tents, terrestrial and celestial habitations, Bernard finally brings his dedication sermons safely to land in the middle of the monastery, in the last sermon's proliferations of Gen 28.16: "Surely, the Lord is in this place" (*vere Dominus est in loco isto*):

> The sacred Scriptures attest that the first Adam was once placed in Paradise so that he might work in it and guard it. Likewise, the second Adam is in the Church of holy ones, in the congregation of those who

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[38] Vulgate: "super muros tuos Ierusalem constitui custodes".
[39] "Est quidem sursum Ierusalem, quae libera est, mater nostra; sed minime ego crediderim super muros eius constitutos esse custodes, in cuius laudibus Propheta decantat: QUI POSUIT FINES TUOS PACEM (Ps 147.3) […] nostris potius custodes necesse est, et diebus, et noctibus deputari. […] Benignus es, Domine, nostrorum nec hac fragili protectione murorum potes esse contentus […]" Ded 4.1–2; Winkler VIII: 836–838.
[40] "Haec est quae facit unius moris habitare fratres in unum, novam utique Regi nostro, vero pacifico, aedificans civitatem, quae et ipsa Ierusalem nominetur, quod est visio pacis. Ubi enim sine foedere pacis, sine observantia legis, sine disciplina et regimine acephala multitudo congregata fuerit, non populus, sed turba vocatur; non est civitas, sed confusio: Babylonem exhibet, de Ierusalem habet nihil." Ded 5.9; Winkler VIII: 860.

> are his, in the garden of delights (Gen 2.8)—inasmuch as his delight is to
> be with the sons of men—thus, I say, is also 'the Lord in this place' in
> order to work in it and guard it.[41]

And the task for the monks *in isto loco* is the repentance of past sins
and the expectation of future rewards (*praeteritorum paenitudo peccatorum et
futurorum exspectatio praemiorum*, Ded 6.3).

In these sermons, which imply many more themes that those apply-
ing to the architectural vocabulary, Bernard employs the imagery of
fortifications and houses in two distinct ways. On the one hand, he
explores one particular edifice, as in the exposition of the fortification,
armoury, and sustenance of the house of God in Ded 3. On the other
hand, he lets different houses overlap, lending particulars and conno-
tations to each other, as is the case with the oscillations between the
palpable edifice of the church, the bodies of the monks, and the celes-
tial city. Once again the edifice becomes a repository of more or less
allegorical potential which may be fleshed out in infinite ways—and
finally be significantly challenged by a singular garden of paradisiacal
delights which at once supplements and contrasts with the lapidariness
and corporeality in the remainder of the text.

3. *Jerusalem and Babylon*

As Bernard stresses in his dedication-sermons, the city is not only walls
and buildings but also a community of citizens—and of soldiers. The
city as *civitas* is pre-eminently associated with the urban antithesis *par
excellence*: that between Babylon and Jerusalem. This opposition runs
through the Old Testament's reiterative reflections of the captivity of
Jerusalem in Babylon, be that in chronicles (e.g. 2 Kings 24–25 and
2 Chr 36),[42] in prophetic literature such as Jeremiah playing out the
entire exile, from alleged forebodings of the disastrous punishment for
the sins of Judah, through the lamentation of the exile itself to the
predictions of the return to Jerusalem after seventy years of exile, and
finally in poetry, such as Ps 136.[43] In the New Testament, the contrast

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[41] "Testantur sacrae litterae in paradiso olim positum primum Adam, ut operaretur
et custodiret. Sic secundus Adam in ecclesia Sanctorum, in congregatione suorum, IN
HORTO DELICIARUM (Gen 2.8),—siquidem deliciae suae esse cum filiis hominum—, ita,
inquam, et ipse DOMINUS EST IN LOCO ISTO (Gen 28.16), ut operetur atque custodiat."
Ded 6.3; Winkler VIII: 866.

[42] IV Rg 24–25 and II Par 36 in Vulgate.

[43] Most notably verses 1, NRSV (Ps 137.1): "By the rivers of Babylon—there we

is primarily recalled with awesome prophecy in Revelation's distinction between the fall of the blood-drunken whore of Babylon (17–18) and the coming of the new Jerusalem (21). In short, the biblical relation between Jerusalem and Babylon is one of war, siege, captivity, lamentation, and judgement with an eschatological undertone.

a. Jerusalem and Babylon: Augustinian prologue

This urban antithesis receives a typological revitalization in early Christianity. First and foremost we find it in Augustine's identification of Babylon and Jerusalem with the earthly and the celestial *civitas* respectively, most notably in *De civitate Dei*. Augustine's project is huge and complex. In van Oort's words "a compendium of Augustine's theology",[44] the work involves partly an apology, partly a tripartite elaboration on the two cities: their origin, their development according to the Bible, and finally their eschatological destiny. It is at once historiography, theological anthropology, and exegesis—tracing the fundamental distinction between belief and disbelief in its biblical manifestations. In an irreverent boiling down of the *embonpoint* of *De civitate Dei* to a few references we shall freeze, for a moment, the two cities *vis à vis* each other before turning to their textual, if not spiritual, mergers in Bernard. "I classify the human race into two branches," Augustine states,

> the one consists of those who live by human standards, the other of those who live according to God's will. I also call these two classes the two cities, speaking allegorically. By two cities I mean two societies of human beings, one of which is predestined to reign with God for all eternity, the other doomed to undergo eternal punishment with the Devil.[45]

Thus Augustine launches his pursuit of the development of these two cities; and he begins at the very beginning:

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sat down and there we wept when we remembered Zion"; Vulgate: "Super flumina Babylonis ibi sedimus et flevimus cum recordaremur Sion" and 4, NRSV: "How could we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land?"; Vulgate: "quomodo cantabimus canticum Domini in terra aliena".

[44] van Oort 1991, 88. Augustine himself calls it a "magnum opus et arduum" *De civitate Dei* I, Praefatio; XIV.1: 1.

[45] "[…] generis humani, quod in duo genera distribuimus, unum eorum, qui secundum hominem, alterum eorum, qui secundum Deum uiuunt; quas etiam mystice appellamus ciuitates duas, hoc est duas societates hominum, quarum est una quae praedestinata est in aeternum regnare cum Deo, altera aeternum supplicium subire cum diabolo." *De civitate Dei* XV.1; XIV.2: 453. Bettenson's translation, 595.

Now Cain was the first son born to those two parents of mankind, and he belonged to the city of man; the later son, Abel, belonged to the city of God. […] When those two cities started on their courses through the succession of birth and death, the first to be born was a citizen of this world, and later appeared one who was a pilgrim and stranger in the world, belonging as he did to the City of God. He was predestined by grace, and chosen by grace, by grace a pilgrim below, and by grace a citizen above.[46]

The antithesis between the two cities is frequently, in *De civitate Dei* and in other Augustinian texts,[47] associated with that between Babylon and Jerusalem. Of Zion Augustine states

She is also Jerusalem, in the same spiritual sense, which is a point on which I have already said a great deal. Her enemy is Babylon, the city of the Devil, whose name means 'confusion'. However, this queen among the nations is set free from that Babylon by rebirth, and passes over from the worst to the best of kings, that is, from the Devil to Christ.[48]

Civitas Dei and *civitas terrena* are defined by their existence in history. They are intermingled in their terrestrial shape yet distinguished by their disposition, and only the end of time sees a fully-fledged differentiation between them: "In truth, those two cities are interwoven and intermixed in this era, and await separation at the last judgement."[49]

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[46] "Natus est igitur prior Cain ex illis duobus generis humani parentibus, pertinens ad hominum ciuitatem, posterior Abel, ad ciuitatem Dei […] cum primum duae istae coeperunt nascendo atque moriendo procurrere ciuitates, prior est natus ciuis huius saeculi, posterius autem isto peregrinus in saeculo et pertinens ad ciuitatem Dei, gratia praedestinatus gratia electus, gratia peregrinus deorsum gratia ciuis sursum." *De civitate Dei* XV.1; XIV.2: 453–454. Bettenson's translation, 596. The distinction between citizenship and peregrination is further discussed in Chapter Three.

[47] Examples are rendered in van Oort 1991, 118–123.

[48] "Ipsa est et Hierusalem eodem modo spiritaliter, unde multa iam diximus. Eius inimica est ciuitas diaboli Babylon, quae confusio interpretatur; ex qua tamen Babylone regina ista in omnibus gentibus regeneratione liberatur et a pessimo rege ad optimum regem, id est a diabolo transit ad Christum." *De civitate Dei* XVII.16; XIV.2: 581. Bettenson's translation, 747–748. The passage evokes confusion as one of the primary marks of Babylon concordant with the aetiological etymology established in Gen 11.9, NRSV: "Therefore it was called Babel, because there the Lord confused the language of all the earth"; Vulgate: "et idcirco vocatum est nomen eius Babel quia ibi confusum est labium universae terrae". This etymology is adopted by, for instance, Jerome: "Babel, quae est Babylon, interpretatur confusio" *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum*, PL 23.877, and confirmed by Augustine: "Babylon quippe interpretatur confusio". Bettenson renders it: "the name 'Babylon' means, in fact, 'confusion'" and retorts: "Babylon, in fact, means 'Gate of God'". *De civitate Dei* XVI.4; XIV.2: 504. Bettenson's translation, 657 and note 69 on that page.

[49] "Perplexae quippe sunt istae duae ciuitates in hoc saeculo inuicemque permix-

b. Bernardine representations of Jerusalem and Babylon

In Bernard, the two cities are basically distinguished in a way that echoes Augustine:

> Jerusalem means 'vision of peace', while Babylon means 'the disorder of sin'. As many citizens as these cities have, all of them are dissimilar and deeply unlike one another. For the citizens of Jerusalem are Abel and every other just person, all of them predestined to life. The citizens of Babel are Ham and every other reprobate, all of them foreseen as destined to die.[50]

He also repeats the Augustinian doubleness between peregrination and fulfilment; of the *civitas Domini* he says: "Though in part reigning in heaven and in part pilgrimaging on earth, it is still one city."[51] There is, however, a basic difference between the two authors' representations of the two cities. The Bernardine examination of Babylon and Jerusalem does not appear in one specific text. It is frequently brought to mind but neither on the scale of Augustine's *epos*, nor in its historical anchoring. The urban antithesis is reflected in a variety of formats, each of them seemingly clear-cut and delineated but between them offering an image of somewhat blurred contours.

Let us start from Bernard's definition of himself as monk and Jerusalemite (*monachus et Ierusolymita*) in SC 55.2. The passage concerns the scrutiny of the citizens of Babylon and Jerusalem on the day of judgement centred on Zeph 1.12, "At that time I will search Jerusalem with lamps." Bernard here contrasts the two *civitates*:

> For I think that in this passage [Zeph 1.12] the prophet indicates by the name Jerusalem those who lead a religious life in this world, imitating as far as they can the ways of the heavenly Jerusalem by an upright and orderly life-style, and do not, like the citizens of Babylon, waste their life in a chaos of vices and the turmoil of crimes.[52]

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tae, donec ultimo iudicio dirimantur […]" *De civitate Dei* I.35; XIV.1: 34. Bettenson's translation, 46.

[50] "Ierusalem interpretatur pacis visio, Babylonia peccati confusio. Quotquot sunt harum civitatum cives, contrarii sunt ad invicem et penitus dissidentes. Cives enim Ierusalem sunt Abel et omnes iusti, omnes ad vitam praedestinati. Cives Babyloniae Cham et omnes reprobi et omnes ad mortem praesciti." Sent III.121; Winkler IV: 714. Swietek's translation, 420.

[51] "[…] quae utique una est in caelo et in terra, licet ex parte peregrinans et ex parte regnans." SC 53.III.6; Winkler VI: 212. Walsh and Edmonds's translation, III: 63.

[52] "Puto enim hoc loco Prophetam Ierusalem nomine designasse illos, qui in hoc saeculo vitam ducunt religiosam, mores supernae illius Ierusalem conversatione hon-

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But although considering himself a citizen of that first *civitas*, Bernard has no illusions with regard to this city's being free of sin:

> But I, a monk and a Jerusalemite, have sins that are definitely hidden, overshadowed by the name and habit of a monk; and consequently it is necessary to probe them with an exacting investigation, and bring them from darkness to light, as it were by the aid of lamps.[53]

SC 55.3 goes on to describe monastic life in terms of Jerusalemite citizenship. It also reflects the shortcomings of a thematic reading of Bernard which traces themes across his text rather than reading each text as an entity. For while the *monachus et Ierosolymita*-wording has its place within an investigation of *civitas Dei* in Bernard, it is above all embedded in a context on judgement and the necessity of guarding the senses.

But Jerusalem is not all there is to the monastery. The monks share the basic human alienation from God caused by the sheer presence of their bodies. And Bernard depicts the Babylonian captivity as his own. In Sept 1.3, he starts from the meaning of the word *Septuagesima*, seventieth, the seventy days of fast before Easter.[54] The word has a sombre ring for Bernard:

> Now, I tell you, dearly beloved, that I suffer in hearing that name, and my spirit stirs in me because it yearns for the homeland in which there are neither numbers, nor measures, nor weight. For how long am I yet to receive all that is good for body and soul by number, measure, and weight? 'How many of my father's hired hands have bread enough to spare, but here I am dying of hunger' (Lk 15.17). What pertains to corporeal food was said to Adam and applies right up to me: 'by the sweat of your face you shall eat your bread' (Gen 3.19). But also when I work is bread given to me after weight, drink after measure, and food by number. That is how it is with the corporeal.[55]

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esta et ordinata pro viribus imitantes, et non veluti hi qui de Babylone sunt, vitam in perturbatione vitiorum scelerumque confusione vastantes." SC 55.I.2; Winkler VI: 238. Walsh and Edmonds's translation, III: 84.

[53] "Mea autem, qui videor monachus et Ierusolymita, peccata certe occulta sunt, nomine et habitu monachi adumbrata; et idcirco necesse erit subtili ea investigari discussione, et quasi admotis lucernis de tenebris in lucem prodi." SC 55.I.2; Winkler VI: 238. Walsh and Edmonds's translation, III: 84.

[54] Winkler IV: 744, note 63.

[55] "Iam vero dico vobis, carissimi, quia plurimum in hoc nomine compatior mihi ipsi et commovetur intra me spiritus meus, suspirans nimirum ad patriam illam, in qua nec numerus est, nec mensura, nec pondus. Quamdiu enim in pondere, et mensura, et numero universa corporis et animae bona recipio? QUANTI MERCENARII IN DOMO PATRIS MEI ABUNDANT PANIBUS, EGO AUTEM HIC FAME PEREO! (Lk 15.17) Nam de corporali cibo ad

Satiation is not to be found till in Jerusalem, the city of the great king (*O Ierusalem, civitas Regis magni*) in which there is the greatest abundance (*affluentia summa*). Until then, however, he is thrown back on numbers, measures, and weight. Bernard proceeds with an elaboration of Jer 25 and 29 on the return of the Israelites from Babylon after the captivity. He still, however, has the abundance of Jerusalem in mind:

> But when do we go there? Undoubtedly at the end of this present *Septuagesima* which is the time of our captivity. Because we read that the captivity of the sons of Israel by the Babylonians came to an end after seventy years; when those had passed, they returned to their own when the temple had been restored and the city rebuilt. But when is our captivity to end, brothers, which has already been extended for so many years, in fact from the beginning of the world? When are we to be released from this slavery? When is Jerusalem, the holy city, to be restored?[56]

This is one of the instances in which Babylon denominates post-lapsarian existence as such. Man, whether lay or monk, is severed from Jerusalem in any guise. Like the prodigal son, he yearns for the abundance of his homeland, but his condition is one of estrangement and captivity. He is in the *regio longinqua* of Babylon.

Again in SC 33.2, Bernard repeats the polarity between Babylon and Jerusalem, this time with more emphasis on the oscillating focus. The textual basis of the sermon is Song 1.6.[57] And its quest is implied in the following statement:

> Therefore, the man who longs for God does not cease to seek these three things, righteousness, judgment, and the place where the Bridegroom dwells in glory: the path in which he walks, the wariness with which he walks, and the home to which he walks.[58]

Adam dictum est, et pervenit usque ad me: IN SUDORE VULTUS TUI VESCERIS PANE TUO (cf. Gen 3.19). Sed et cum laboravero, panis mihi datur in pondere, potus in mensura, pulmenta in numero. Et de corporali quidem sic." Sept 1.3; Winkler VII: 428–430.

[56] "Sed quando venient ista? Profecto in fine praesentis Septuagesimae, quod est tempus captivitatis nostrae. Sic enim legimus quod captivi a Babyloniis filii Israel terminum acceperunt annorum septuaginta, quibus transactis redierunt in sua, cum instauratum est templum et civitas reaedificata. At vero captivitas nostra, fratres, quando finietur, quae tot annis, ab initio utique mundi, protenditur? Quando liberabimur a servitute ista? Quando restaurabitur Ierusalem, civitas sancta?" Sept 1.4; Winkler VII: 430–432.

[57] NRSV (Song 1.7): "Tell me, you whom my soul loves, where you pasture your flock, where you make it lie down at noon"; Vulgate (Song 1.6): "indica mihi quem diliget anima mea ubi pascas ubi cubes in meridie".

[58] "Ergo tria ista anima curiosa Dei non cessat inquirere, iustitiam, et iudicium,

The part of this triple inquiry particularly investigated in SC 33 is that of the Bridegroom's dwelling. This text stresses the contemplative tension between the Babylon which is here and now and the Jerusalem which is then and there. From the outset, attention is directed towards the topos of Jerusalem. When the bridegroom rests it is because the sheep are safe even when unattended: "Happy the place!" (*Felix regio*). The fortunate celestial region is presented as a refuge in contrast to the uncertainty of earth, where man is always in danger of being attacked by robbers and other manifestations of sin. The passage continues with reference to the sighs of the bride longing for this "place of rest, of security, of exultation, of wonder, of overwhelming joy".[59] However, having said "there", Bernard immediately thrusts himself and his audience towards their "here":

> But alas! unhappy me, far from it as I am, and saluting it from afar (cf. Heb 11.14), the very memory of it causes me to weep with the affection expressed by those exiles: 'By the waters of Babylon, there we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion' (Ps 136.1). Let me cry out both with the bride and with the Prophet: 'Praise your God, O Zion! For he strengthened the bars of your gates; he blesses your sons within you' (Ps 147.1–2). Who would not be filled with vehement longing to be fed in that place, on account of its peace, on account of its richness, on account of its super-abundance? There one experiences neither fear nor distaste, nor any want. Paradise is a safe dwelling-place, the Word is sweet nourishment, eternity is wealth beyond calculation.[60]

With this reference, the description of the resting-place is employed as one pole in the extension of a bi-polarity between Babylon and Jerusalem. The reference works retrospectively, so that what was pre-

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et locum habitationis gloriae sponsi, tamquam viam in qua ambulet, cautelam qua ambulet, et ad quam ambulet mansionem." SC 33.I.1; Winkler V: 514–516. Walsh's translation, II: 144.

[59] "[…] loco pascuae simul et pacis, sed quietis, sed securitatis, sed exsultationis, sed admirationis, sed stuporis." SC 33.II.2; Winkler VI: 156. Walsh's translation, II: 145.

[60] "Nam et me miserum, heu! longe agentem, et de longe salutantem, en ipsa eius recordatio ad lacrimas provocat, plane iuxta affectionem et vocem dicentium: SUPER FLUMINA BABYLONIS ILLIC SEDIMUS ET FLEVIMUS, DUM RECORDAREMUR SION (Ps 136.1). Libet exclamare et me cum sponsa pariter et cum Propheta: LAUDA DEUM TUUM, SION, QUONIAM CONFORTAVIT SERAS PORTARUM TUARUM, BENEDIXIT FILIIS TUIS IN TE (Ps 147.1–2). Quis non illic vehementer cupiat pasci, et propter pacem, et propter adipem, et propter satietatem? Nihil ibi formidatur, nihil fastiditur, nihil deficit. Tuta habitatio paradisus, dulce pabulum Verbum, opulentia multa nimis aeternitas." SC 33.II.2; Winkler V: 516–518. Walsh's translation, II: 145–146. See also the discussion of SC 50.III.8 in association with Par II.

viously said about Jerusalem now affirms some traits of the Babylo-
nian character of terrestrial misery. In other words, the constitution of
Jerusalem as a happy and safe place throws light upon the unfortunate
and dangerous region of the terrestrial Babylon. But after all, focus
again slips away from the terrestrial misery, driven as it is towards the
peaceful dwelling of the bridegroom, and at the end of the passage just
quoted, attention once again lies with the peace and plenty of Paradise.
This section of the sermon, however, concludes with a confirmation of
the irreconcilable positions of the dwelling of the bridegroom and the
provisional comforts of earthly life: "You see then that the foods are as
different as the places where they are eaten are distanced from each
other […]".[61]

The Babylonian attachment, however, is in turn modified by Div 2.1
which urges the brothers to "do what you have come for, what you have
ascended from the rivers of Babylon for."[62] As the brothers now have no
concerns as to how to feed their children, no wish to please their wives,
nor engage in markets or worldly business or even to think about food
and clothing,[63] they should concentrate on the knowledge of themselves
and of God.

More Jerusalems and Babylons appear in the parables, cities which
are the same as those just mentioned yet considered from other angles
and in other lights. And as we proceed, more shades will be added to
the Bernardine depiction of each of the two cities.

4. *Wildernesses*

The city has its obvious counterpart in the non-cultural locus *par excel-
lence*, the wilderness: whether in the stony and arid Old Testament vari-
ant or in the sylvan wilds of Western Europe.

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[61] "Vides ergo distare inter pabula quantum et inter loca […]" SC 33.II.3; Wink-
ler V: 518. Walsh's translation, II: 147.
[62] "[…] facite ad quod venistis, ad quod ascendistis de fluminibus Babylonis." Div
2.1; Winkler IX: 180.
[63] "Nulla vobis hic nutriendorum liberorum cura, nulla sollicitudo quomodo placea-
tis uxoribus; non de nundinis, non de negotiis saecularibus, non de ipso victu et vestitu
necesse est cogitare." Div 2.1; Winkler IX: 180.

a. Wildernesses: Biblical prologue

In the Old Testament, the desert is a location of manifold marginal-
izations of a cross-cultural and syncretistic mould; heroes,[64] prophets,[65]
and fugitives[66] are alienated and dwell in deserts. It is, however, also a
place of even more radical transcendences.

   First, the desert is a place of epiphanies. God may turn up as
nurturer as when Hagar has been sent away from Abraham's house
through Sarah's jealousy and settles in the wilderness of Beer-sheba
with Ishmael to die, only to be saved when God brings forth a well.
God "is with" Ishmael as he grows up to become an inhabitant of the
desert of Paran (Gen 21.8–20). The most prominent desert-epiphanies
appear, unsurprisingly, in the pentateuchal depiction of the forty years
of desert wanderings of the people of God, initiated by the appearance
of God before Moses in the burning bush beyond the wilderness at
Horeb (Ex 3.2–4.12). In the desert, the Israelites are sustained by divine
guidance in the shape of pillars of cloud and fire (Num 14.14). The
epiphanal character of the desert reaches a climax in the utterance
of the Ten Commandments in the wilderness of Sinai in Ex 19–20,
complete with thunder and lightning, Mount Sinai clad in clouds, and
a terrifying trumpet blast (Ex 19.6).

   The majestic power of this epiphany is in contrast to the one expe-
rienced by Elijah who retreats into the wilderness but is called by an
angel to walk for forty days and nights to Horeb, the mount of God.
Here he enters a cave, and God calls on him to go and enforce pun-
ishment on the worshippers of Baal in Israel (1 Kings 19.4–18).[67] When
God addresses the prophet in the cave, he is preceded by a great wind,
an earthquake, and a fire; he is however in none of these. Yet at the
"sound of sheer silence", Elijah wraps his face in his mantle and comes
out of his cave to hear God's commands.[68]

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   [64] The thrice alienated Moses before the burning bush (Ex 1–3).
   [65] For instance Elijah (1 Kings 19.4–18) and John the Baptist (Mt 3.1–4 and par.).
Medieval iconography tends to present John the Baptist as a hirsute sidekick from the
wilderness to a well-groomed Jesus in an archetypical representation of the beta-male
friend or assistant of the hero. Gilgamesh's companion Enkidu represents an early stage
of this type; J.K. Rowling's Hagrid a recent one!
   [66] For instance Hagar and Ishmael (Gen 21.8–20) and David fleeing from Saul
(1 Sam 23–26).
   [67] See moreover Williams 1962, 17.
   [68] The idea that God is more forcefully present in the desert reverberates in Origen's

Second, the desert is also the home ground of dangerous animals and demonic powers. For instance Isa 34.13–14 envisages the wasteland "No Kingdom" emerging after the vengeance of God: "It shall be the haunt of jackals, an abode for ostriches. Wildcats shall meet with hyenas, goat-demons shall call to each other".[69] The double divine-demonic element of this place is forcefully displayed in the simultaneity of Moses' reception of the Ten Commandments and the Israelites' idolatrous worship of the golden calf (Ex 32); the desert is also a place where one is led astray. In the New Testament, the Devil's temptation of Christ in the wilderness (Mt 4 and par.) testifies to this same danger. So when Anthony, other desert fathers, and later desert-dwellers are haunted by ingenious demonic attacks, it is a natural consequence of their withdrawal into the demonic realm.

Both the epiphanal and the demonic sides of the biblical deserts reverberate in the connotations of medieval woodland wildernesses.

b. Bernardine wildernesses

It almost amounts to a commonplace that desert mythology is constitutive for the Cistercians. Both *Exordium parvum* and *Exordium Cistercii* invest the foundation of the Order with the ambition of locating the alleged revitalization of Benedictine monasticism in austere and inaccessible woodland. In *Exordium Cistercii* I, the arrival of Robert of Molesme and his monks at Cîteaux is described as follows:

> After many labors, therefore, and exceedingly great difficulties, which all who will to live in Christ must needs suffer (cf. 2 Tim 3.12), they at length attained their desire and arrived at Cîteaux—at that time a place of horror and of vast solitude (Deut 32.10). But judging that the harshness of the place was not at variance with the strict purpose they had already

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words about John the Baptist: "[…] fleeing the turbulence of the cities, the crowds of people, the vices of the cities, he withdrew and went into the desert, where the air is cleaner, heaven more open and God more familiar […]" ("[…] sed recessit, fugiens tumultum urbium, populi frequentiam, vitia civitatum, et abiit in deserta, ubi purior aër est et caelum apertius et familiarior Deus […]" Origen, *Homiliae super Lucam* XI.4, 192. A thought also echoed by Jerome who lauded the desert to the skies, a trait ascribed by Auberger to his rural origin (Auberger 1986, 290), "O desert rejoicing in God's familiar presence!" ("O heremus familiarius Deo gaudens!") *Epistula* 14.10, PL 22.354.—But missed his books when he was out there. See also *Epistula* 125.8, PL 22.1076.

[69] See also Deut 8.15 and Isa 30.6. See moreover McGinn 1994, 160.

> conceived in mind, the soldiers of Christ held the place as truly prepared
> for them by God: a place as agreeable as their purpose was dear.[70]

This passage stresses the purposeful austerity of the monastic *milites*;
heirs to Moses and Anthony alike. *Exordium parvum* enacts the same
scenario, albeit with a slight variation in tone:

> […] they eagerly headed for the desert-place called Cîteaux. This place,
> situated in the episcopate of Chalon, and rarely approached by men
> back in those days because of the thickness of grove and thornbush,
> was inhabited only by wild beasts. Understanding upon arrival that the
> more despicable and unapproachable the place was to seculars, the more
> suited it was for the monastic observance they had already conceived in
> mind, and for which sake they had come there, the men of God, after
> cutting down and removing the dense grove and thornbushes, began to
> construct a monastery there with the approval of the bishop of Chalon
> and the consent of the owner of the place.[71]

The monks revel in a nature so congenial to their desire for alien-
ation from the secular world. The location is inaccessible to seculars,
the life that is to be led there no less so. They immediately begin
to chop it down to construct their monastic *civitas Dei*.[72] To cut a
long and composite story short, the second generation of Cistercians
were at pains to anchor the Order in a framework of desert monasti-
cism.[73]

In view of this apparent institutional interest in the wilderness as
a specific Cistercian site, one would expect Bernard to harbour a
predilection for this topos. Once again we must distinguish between
allegorical conception and spiritual connotations. The allegorical fea-

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[70] "Igitur post multos labores ac nimias difficultates, quas omnes in Christo pie
vivere volentes pati necesse est, tandem desiderio potiti Cistercium devenerunt, locum
tunc scilicet horroris et vastæ solitudinis. Sed milites Christi loci asperitatem ab arcto
proposito quod iam animo conceperant non dissidere iudicantes, ut vere sibi divinitus
præparatum tam gratum habuere locum quam carum propositum." *Exordium Cistercii* I,
400. Waddell's translation, 400.

[71] "[…] ad heremum quæ Cistercium dicebatur alacriter tetenderunt. Qui locus
in episcopatu Cabilonensi situs, et pro nemoris spinarumque tunc temporis opacitate
accessui hominum insolitus, a solis feris inhabitabatur. Ad quem viri Dei venientes,
locumque illum tanto religioni quam animo iamiamque conceperant, et propter quam
illuc advenerant, habiliorem quanto sæcularibus despicabiliorem et inaccessibilem intel-
ligentes, nemoris et spinarum densitate præcisa ac remota, monasterium ibidem volun-
tate Cabilonensis episcopi, et consensu illius cuius ipse locus erat construere cœperunt."
Exordium parvum III, 421. Waddell's translation, 421.

[72] Concerning the basic tension between structure and chaos in Cistercian monasti-
cism, see Pranger 1994, crystallized on page 3.

[73] For a study of Cistercian textual deserts, see Bruun 2002.

tures associated with the forest seem mainly to be related to density and impassability, designating an impenetrable thickness of, for example, heresies (*silva haeresum*, Ep 187.1), vices (*silva vitiorum*, Sent III.53), or even a shadowy forest where allegories lurk (*silva umbrosa latebrosaque allegorarium*, SC 16.1). But these qualities may be employed in different ways even within one single text. Sent II.11 is an example of this kind of allegorical polyvalence. It takes its starting point in Ps. 63.2: "in a land deserted, impassable, and without water" ("in terra deserta et invia et inaquosa"), listing three desert variants: the first one is the momentary futility (*momentanea vanitas*), whence man may ascend to the desert which is the humility of Christian simplicity (*christianae simplicitatis humilitas*), which is called desert, because hardly anybody is an imitator of Christ (*quia fere nullus est imitator Christi*). The last desert into which one must ascend is that of the simplicity of an even purer innocence or chastity (*innocentiae purioris simplicitas vel integritas*). In this sequence of allegorizations, different aspects of the desert topos are illuminated in turn: first, it is pathlessness and lack of water (life) which is stressed in order to present the miserable point of departure, second, the loneliness of the desert is in focus as a reflection of the rare occurrences of *imitatio Christi*, and third, the purity and simplicity of the desert signifies the essence of Christian virtuousness.[74]

When it comes to the connotative *Raum* of the wilderness, Bernard does not, a little surprisingly perhaps, express himself very favourably. He first and foremost considers it a locus of individual endeavour and thus a site in opposition to monastic communal life. Ep 115 is addressed to a nun from a convent in Troyes who has written to Bernard, apparently striking some of the chords that he himself strikes in other contexts. He quotes her letter:

> 'Is it not wise,' you say, 'to fly riches, crowded towns and delicate meats? Would not my modesty be safer in a desert where I could live in peace with a few others or even quite alone, so as to please him alone to whom I have pledged myself?'[75]

In his answer to these questions, Bernard alternates between pounding at the nun's motives; "For anyone wishing to lead a bad life the

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[74] Sent II.11; Winkler IV: 304–306.

[75] "Cur, inquis? Non est sapere, ut opulentiam, ut urbis frequentiam, ut pinguia fugiam et delicias? Annon mea mihi pudicitia tutior erit in eremo, ubi in pace cum paucis aut sola conversans, soli placeam cui me probavi?" Ep 115.1; Winkler II: 828. James's translation, 179.

desert supplies ample opportunity. The woods afford cover, and solitude assures silence."[76]—And bestowing paternal advice:

> The wolf lurks in the wood. If you, a little sheep, penetrate the shadows of the wood alone, you are offering yourself as a prey to the wolf. […] Whether you are a saint or a sinner do not cut yourself off from the flock or you will fall prey to the wolf and there will be none to rescue you.[77]

This letter appears to be characteristic of Bernard's view on withdrawal into the wilderness, which he generally seems to associate with eremitical life. In SC 33.10, the Midday Demon lures the monk away from his cenobitic life into the desert: "How often, in envy of a man's fervor in community life, does he not persuade him to live as a hermit?"[78] Or in the words of SC 64:

> Look at another [example]. How many fervent souls have been drawn from their monasteries by the attraction of the solitary life, and have then become lukewarm and have been spewed forth, or if they have remained, have become slack and dissolute, violating the law of the hermit?[79]

In all three examples, withdrawal into the wilderness is the opposite not of secular but of cenobitic life.[80]

Reference must also be made, however, to Ep 118.7. In this letter, Bernard relates his recent transference of monks from one place to another. And here, Deut 32.10's reference to the horror and vast solitude which was to be so enthusiastically applied to Cîteaux in *Exordium Cistercii* has less fortunate connotations. In response to Beatrice, who has inquired about his health and travelling, "[…] I briefly reply that 'from a wilderness, from fearful desert spaces' the brethren have come

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[76] "Nam volenti perperam agere, et desertum abundantiam habet, et nemus umbram, et silentium solitudo." Ep 115.1; Winkler II: 828. James's translation, 180.

[77] "In nemore lupus habitat. Si sola ovicula umbras nemoris penetras, praeda vis esse lupo. […] Sive peccatrix, sive sancta sis, noli te separare a grege, NEQUANDO RAPIAT ET NON SIT QUI ERIPIAT (Ps 49.22)." Ep 115.2; Winkler II: 830. James's translation, 180.

[78] "Quotiens bene proficientibus in coenobiis invidens, quasi obtentu maioris puritatis eremum petere persuasit […]" SC 33.V.10; Winkler V: 528. Walsh's translation, II: 153. This motif is elaborated further in the study of Par III.

[79] "Sed aspice aliam. Quantos ex monasteriis spiritu ferventes eremi solitudo suscepit et, aut tepefactos evomuit, aut tenuit, contra eremi legem […]" SC 64.I.4; Winkler VI: 350. Walsh and Edmonds's translation, III: 172. "The law of the hermit" might also be that of the desert.

[80] QH 4 maintains the distinction yet constitutes a joint front of hermits and cenobites against the world: in order to protect their humility from the attacks of others and themselves "[…] we hide physically in monasteries and forests" ("[…] corporaliter in claustris et in silvis abscondimur.") QH 4.3; Winkler VII: 532.

unto an abundance of everything, of buildings and friends; into a fertile land and a dwelling place of great beauty."[81]

But also Clairvaux may be denominated through Deut 32.10. In his letter to his cousin Robert, Bernard recounts how little surprising it is that the Devil should have been successful in enticing the young monk away from his vows, his rule, and the obedience towards his superior: "What wonder if the Evil One should have been able to deceive a youth in a place of horror and a great wilderness who could deceive the first man when he was in the paradise of Eden."[82]

In Sent III.71 Bernard speaks of those who have withdrawn to the remoteness of the desert (*in secretis eremi*) resembling fields in the middle of the world, taking as his point of departure Ps 131.6 which says about wisdom, "We heard about it in Ephrathah, found it in plains of the forest" ("Audivimus eam in Ephrata, invenimus eam in campis silvae"). The passage contains a significant vision of fields in the forest. Now we might imagine the abbot writing on withdrawal to lead to an encomium of the wilderness as the habitat of meditative saints or purposeful soldiers of Christ: instead we are presented with a felling and farming scenario redolent of energetic enterprise:

> For when the fields of the forest are cleared, the trees are cut down. They are not, however, simply flung away. Instead they are scattered over the surface of the land in heaps (or, if there are very few of them, they are collected), so that when a fire is started it can have enough material to burn; and the fire makes the old, infertile land fresh and fruitful again. It is the same with those people. When they hear the advice of Wisdom which tells us that 'the one who cultivates his land will be filled with bread', they cut down from the land of their heart and body the old forest of their sins through penitential labor and the exercise of holy discipline and behaviour. They do not, however, fling away the remnants by forgetting them. Instead they scatter across the expanses of their memory not only their own sins, but those of others—indeed, those of the entire world—and they ignite beneath them the fire of the Holy Spirit, conceived in heaven above. By completely burning up down to the very roots, everything which is or had been harmful and useless, they

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[81] "De quibus primum breviter respondeo, quod de terra deserta et de loco horroris et vastae solitudinis introducti sunt in abundantiam rerum, aedium et amicorum, in terram denique fertilem et locum amoenae habitationis." Ep 118.7; Winkler II: 836. James's translation, 182–183. According to Gastaldelli, the letter perhaps refers to the foundation of Trois-Fontaines or Fontenay, Winkler II: 1111.

[82] "Qui Protoplastum dolo captum expulit de patria felicitatis, quid mirum si tenero subripuit adolescentulo IN LOCO HORRORIS ET VASTAE SOLITUDINIS? (Deut 32.10)" Ep 1.3; Winkler II: 248. James's translation, 3.

make the land of their heart and body once again fit and ready for the holy fruits of good works through the plow of discipline and the seed of the divine word. They are truly fields of the forest—a company of saints in the town, or rather of saints living in the midst of the world as though in the middle of a forest.[83]

The course that Bernard is advocating in this allegorically flavoured scenery is not so much the isolation of the wilderness as it is that of laboriously preparing a clearing amidst worldliness, cutting down trees, engaging in utilitarian farming—albeit in this case of saintly fruits. Under the auspices of the remoteness of the desert, a double set of *mises en scène* is established. On the one hand, we are presented with an array of factual places, the forest, the city, and the field, and with the wisdom-seekers manufacturing a field of their own in the forest, or a room of their own in the city. On the other hand, this topography has a quasi-allegorical function related to a human topography. In that context, the forest refers to the sin in man, body and heart, and the clearing and cultivation of land refers to interior processes.

This forest thus becomes an interior version of the woods that, to Bernard, might camouflage the sin of the nun of Troyes aspiring to eremitical life (Ep 115). The fascination with the very process of forest clearance echoes the Cistercian efforts at cultivation and farming.[84] It also brings to mind R.P. Harrison's relief at the one crusade that Medieval "Christian imperialism" never undertook, despite Deuteronomistic underpinning at hand: that against the trees.[85] Harri-

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[83] "Cum enim novellantur campi silvae, praeciduntur arbores, non proiciuntur, et acervatim super faciem terrae consternuntur, vel, si paucae sunt, aliunde convehuntur, ut immissus ignis sufficientem habeat materiam, et terram vetustam et infructuosam novellam faciunt et fecundam. Sic et illi, audito sapientiae consilio dicentis: QUI EXERCET TERRAM SUAM SATURABITUR PANIBUS (Pr 12.11 and 28.19), per paenitentiae labores, per sanctae disciplinae et conversationis exercitia, peccatorum suorum silvam vetustam a terra cordis et corporis sui praecidentes, non per oblivionem proiciunt, sed super plana memoriae ea consternentes, nec solum sua, sed etiam aliena et totius mundi peccata, ignem Spiritus Sancti caelitus conceptum supponunt et, quaeque sunt vel fuerunt nociva vel inutilia, perfectissime radicitus comburentes, sanctis bonorum operum frugibus, disciplinae aratro et verbi divini semine, terram cordis et corporis sui promptam reddunt et idoneam. Sunt etiam campi silvae, coetus sanctorum in urbibus, vel in medio saeculi quasi in medio silvae commorantium." Sent III.71; Winkler IV: 470–472. (Vulgate has "operatur" instead of "exercet" in both verses from the Proverbs.) Swietek's translation, 247–248. Swietek's parenthesis.

[84] Saunders 1993, 7.

[85] Harrison 1992, 62.

son's main concern is with the role of the forest in pagan culture and thus as a container of a cultural memory of popular legends, fairy tales, and folklore, and in this context he is perturbed by the Christian hostility against the forest on account of its associations of "bestiality, fallenness, errancy, perdition".[86]

Bernard's line of argumentation, however, seems at once more and less pragmatic than the discourse suggested by Harrison. It is more pragmatic because the whole vocabulary related to the felling of trees has nothing to do with hostility but is associated with the purely practical fact that when there is need of farmland, trees are in the way. It is less pragmatic because it is not so much a case of the forest's burden of unfortunate associations with sin as of the forest being one of sin's many associations. Bernard does indeed urge that sin be cut down, but the arboreal language does not speak of animosity towards trees, not even as a symbol of sin, paganism, or whatever, but of a much more comprehensive and doctrinally sophisticated project; the clearing of the post-lapsarian disposition of man and the restoration of his created nature. Another conspicuous element of this passage is the analogy between the forest and the city, the two otherwise contrasting poles. And here monastic life is indeed presented as equally distant from both places. The people seeking wisdom may be situated in a context which in its worldliness is indifferently urban and afforested: their site however is that of the field. Cleared, tilled, and sown.

In short, Bernard has strong views on withdrawal into the wilderness as well as anti-urbanism, but the point of orientation of these views appears to be that the monastic community surpasses the carnality of the city in its celestial focus, and surpasses eremitic asceticism in its collective strength. It seems that Bernard prefers the idea of rusticity to that of the wilderness as the locus of Cistercian monasticism, and it may be argued that for him, the desert is above all a locus found within the monk. At least, that is the impression gained from Sent I.30:

> 'Dead flies spoil a bowl of balm' (Eccl 10.1). The flies are vanity, curiosity, and desire. Because they are numerous in Egypt and around the sacrifices of the Egyptians, we in Egypt cannot offer to the Lord our God a 'sacrifice of justice' (Ps 50.21) and charity. And so we go into the desert, that is into the solitude of the heart, 'a three days' journey' (Ex 5.3). On the first day the husband says to his bride: 'I have come into my garden, my sister, my promised bride' (Song 5.1)—that is, into the nurs-

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[86] Harrison 1992, 61.

ery of good virtues. On the second day the bride grows bold and says: 'The king has taken me to his wine-chamber' (Song 2.4), that is, into the delights of the Scriptures. The third day is the marriage-bed, the fullness of love, in which the husband and bride both delight in one another. Note well that opposed to vanity is the firmness of the virtues; to curiosity, the varied delight of the Scriptures; and to desire, the marriage-bed of that highest love.[87]

In this text, Exodus merges with Song of Songs. Moses, Aaron, and the Israelites' three-day journey into the desert to sacrifice, after Pharaoh had at first denied them their freedom, blends with the increasing intimacy of bride and bridegroom. This is an example of a topography composed by several scriptural strands. Egypt is invested with typically worldly sins, vanity, curiosity, and desire,[88] and the journey into the desert has monastic overtones.[89] Nevertheless, it is not the thorny woodlands which are at play here. The desert of the heart is an interior landscape.[90]

In VI p Pent 1.1, Bernard addresses the three-day desert journey in relation to Mk 8.2, where Jesus expresses compassion with the crowds who have waited for him for three days without anything to eat; upon which his disciples ask: "How can one feed these people with bread here in the desert?"[91] On this textual basis Bernard elaborates the double motif of following Christ into the desert and waiting for him in the desert. The first day's journey is that of fear, in which one's darkness, and indeed one's interior darkness, is revealed and enlightened (*tenebrae* […] *interiores scilicet*, VI p Pent 1.2). The second day is that of piety, and the third that of reason, in which truth becomes known. But also this

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[87] "MUSCAE MORIENTES EXTERMINANT SUAVITATEM UNGUENTI (cf. Eccl 10.1), id est vanitas, curiositas et voluptas; quae quia in Aegypto et circa sacrificia Aegyptiorum abundant, non possumus in Aegypto sacrificare Domino Deo nostro SACRIFICIUM IUSTITIAE (Ps 50.21) et caritatis. Ideo proficiscimur in desertum, id est in solitudinem cordis, VIA TRIUM DIERUM (Ex 5.3). De prima die dicit sponsus sponsae: VENI IN HORTUM MEUM, SOROR MEA SPONSA (Song 5.1), hoc est in plantarium bonarum virtutum. De secunda audet sponsa, et dicit: INTRODUXIT ME REX IN CELLAM VINARIAM (Song 2.4), id est, intra delicias scripturarum. Tertia dies est thalamus, plenitudo amoris, in quo se invicem fruuntur sponsus et sponsa. Et nota contra vanitatem, soliditatem virtutum; contra curiositatem, variam delectationem scripturarum; contra voluptatem, summi illius amoris thalamum." Sent I.30; Winkler IV: 284–286. Swietek's translation, 130.

[88] For instance V Nat 2.3.

[89] Concerning Exodus as a figure of monastic vocation, see the discussion of Par I.

[90] In Ep 237.3 Bernard speaks about *solitudo cordis* in terms of contemplative rather than active dispositions, *in casu* in the recently elected Eugenius III.

[91] Mk 8.4, Vulgate: "unde istos poterit quis hic saturare panibus in solitudine".

is a desert sojourn pertaining to spiritual withdrawal from the secu-
lar Egypt rather than expectant penetration of sylvan wildernesses. So
while based on the desert of Exodus and the desert of Mark, the desert
of this sermon is primarily a place in its own right, establishing its cre-
dentials with the biblical deserts before quickly setting out on its own
course.

5. Pars pro toto

As a recurrent principle in the Bernardine cartography, each place is
considered to be *relative*. That is, locations are described with a view
to their relation to the geographical surroundings. Once again we shall
turn to a literary text for comparison; this time with a brief digression
into the Arthurian universe. The textual topographies presented here
offer an expedient, if negative, background for an appreciation of the
literary dynamics at work in Bernard's spiritual topographies.

  In Arthurian literature, there is generally a rather superficial link
between the different loci and between each locus and the overall
topography. M. Stauffer characterizes the transitions between the loci
of courtly romances as *unmittelbar*, marked by "till" or "until" (*tant que*):

> In der so überaus häufigen Verwendung dieses 'tant que' spiegelt sich
> die räumliche und zeitliche Vorstellung des mittelalterlichen Menschen,
> dessen Dasein unter dem Zeichen des Sich-Näherns steht. Er geht sei-
> nem Schicksal entgegen, bis er ihm begegnet, wobei aller Zwischen-
> raum und alle zwischen den markanten Ereignissen liegende Zeit aus-
> gedrückt werden durch das summarischen 'tant' […] Das Raum und
> die Zeit sind nicht kontinuierlich aufgefasst, sondern durch die Sta-
> tionen der Ereignisse und der gegenwärtigen Handlungsmomente ge-
> gliedert.[92]

As a representative example of this may be mentioned what befell Gau-
vains: "Now the story relates, that when Sir Gawain parted with his
companions he journeyed many days without meeting with any adven-
ture worth the telling, *until* he came to the abbey where Galahad had
taken the white shield with the red cross […]".[93] In other words, the

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[92] Stauffer 1958, 130.
[93] "Or dit li contes que, quant mesires Gauvains se fu partiz de ses compaignons, il
chevaucha a mainte jornee sans aventure trover qui a conter face; *tant qu*'il vint a l'abeie
ou Galaad avoit pris l'escu blanc a la croiz vermeille […]". *La Queste*, 51. Matarasso's
translation, 76. My italics. At the International Congress on Medieval Studies in
Kalamazoo, 1997, Siegrid Schmidt presented a paper entitled *Mythische Zwischenwelten:*

'until' covers both the time and the space between two adventures each with its own location. In the example, Gauvains assumes the place of Galaad's adventure, but it has no adventure in store for this less worthy knight. The focus is entirely on place as the locale of each adventure. Sometimes this point is made so radically that the place seems to disappear when an adventure is concluded. Thus, in Chrétien's *Perceval* the grail castle is presented as a semi-locus as it were, a place which is only occasionally or evasively there. First the drawbridge is drawn, apparently by nobody, the very moment Perceval leaves the castle; the place withdraws as he fails its *aventure*. Then its elusive character is exhibited in the maiden's rather ghostly exclamation to Perceval who has just left the castle, "God preserve me, you could ride, so they say, forty leagues in the direction you've come from without finding any good, decent or salubrious place to stay".[94] In *La Queste del Saint Graal*, the different places tend to subsist a little longer, though still only until the significance of that exact place and the adventure that it holds has been interpreted by hermits or white monks. An exception to this fact might be the court of King Arthur which in *La Queste* is indirectly present throughout the narrative in the shape of the failings of its most outstanding knights (primarily Lancelot and Gauvains) as antitheses of the grail knights.

This topographic fragmentation, as it were, differs from the structure of the spiritual topography as Bernard sets it out. Here, the various locations are constituents within a whole, and the places are maintained more or less explicitly in order to create spiritually qualified co-ordinates between which actors and authorial point of view move. This general spatial structure means that each place carries in itself an inherent, even if tacit, allusion to the other places: either *qua* contrast or identity. In other words, as a *Lokal* the land of Nod is both a place in its own right and a place which is not Paradise. Consequently, as a *Raum* each place has its own context of associations as well as a context

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Tödliche Brücken, bedrohliche Tore in der europäischen Artus-Literatur in which Hartman's *Iwein* was defined as taking place within the web of a number of mythical places rather than following what Schmidt defined as the 'usual' *Weg-Abenteuer-Weg-Abenteuer* outline. An article by S. Schmidt on the topic is forthcoming in U. Müller and W. Wunderlich, *Mittelaltermythen 5: Burgen, Landschaften, Orte*. Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft.

[94] *Perceval* 3462–3464, quoted from the translation by Owen in *Chrétien de Troyes: Arthurian Romances*, 420.

of dissociations. Each place thus represents a kind of *pars pro toto* aspect of the entire spiritual topography.

This aspect should be considered in relation to the authorial point of view, which marks an important element in Bernardine mapping, and in the relation between place and space in the spiritual topography. The point of view is related to the fact that in the Bernardine rendering the spiritual topography is characterized by an almost three-dimensional quality. Thus, when mapping the spiritual topography Bernard enters his space in order to consider the various vistas that appear when the topoi are considered from different points of view. For instance, terrestrial misery may be regarded either with the monastery as a background (stressing the need to take vows or stay in the monastery) or with the incarnation as a background (stressing the grace of God offered in the incarnation), or finally, with Paradise or the heavenly Jerusalem as a background, pointing to the exile, with the stress on respectively the misery of losing the original, and the hope and desire for a future, homeland. In this presentation, Bernard shows one view of the spiritual topography, only to replace it by another, different view. Thus, one view follows after another sometimes in succession, sometimes with the text oscillating between two different views, turning to each of them alternately. Bernard may lack Goethe's telescope as narrative device; nevertheless it may be argued that *widerholte Spiegelungen* form an important strategy in his topographical representation.

By changing his point of view, that is his position within the topography, Bernard may regard one topos from the position of another, shift from positive to negative, from hope to despair, from restless labour to quiescence, creating a textual dynamic to match that of the spiritual experience of progression and detention.

6. *Text: Ep 2 and the topographical charge*

Bernard's intention to represent biblical reality on a manageable scale springs from an urge to comprehend and translate the condition in which he is situated, to decode the biblical topography and encode his texts. The locations on his maps are familiar, and they are approached over and over again, from new angles—and from angles tried out before. The topographical features are not fossilized allegories but flexible metaphorical constructions that may be said to work themselves as parables in that they spur graphic and imaginable reflections allowing for experience and interpretation. To use Pearsall and Salter's phrase,

Bernard's topographical indications aim at "recognition rather than illusion" and identifiability rather than representation.[95] But also, it may be added, exploration.

In Pranger's words, Bernard is author as well as actor.[96] On the one hand, he is the cartographer depicting a coherent topographical whole of different loci and the way in which they relate to each other. On the other hand, he is a wayfarer in this topography describing the different loci as he moves. These movements in the spiritual topography are not identical with "the actual journey itself" (McGinn), but, presumably, not entirely different either. It is related to the textual representation of the spiritual message, to the description of the indescribable.

In this chapter, we have cut across a few themes pertaining to spiritual topographies and a few textual passages torn from their context in the Bernardine *corpus*. It is, however, important to keep in mind that Bernard's mapping of spiritual topography, his associations of place and action, and his unrolling of the *pars pro toto* perspective do not take place in a void. The topographical layouts of the texts themselves are often more blurred, many-layered, and entangled with other kinds of discourses than this survey may seem to indicate. As a concluding example of the functions of topographical structures within a larger context, let us finally take a closer look at Ep 2. In this letter, Bernard sets a topographical framework for his attempt to make his cousin Fulk, a regular canon whose uncle has persuaded him to leave his order, amend his ways.

Bernard begins his letter: "I do not wonder if you wonder, in fact I should wonder if you did not wonder, why I should want to write you, the rustic writing to the citizen of the town, the monk to the student".[97] Brian Stock defines Bernard's attitude to the city as that of "the rural aristocrat suspicious of the town".[98] While his stance on these matters may be coloured by conventional antipathies, spiritual and monastic considerations seem to be primary incentives.

The tone may be slightly coquettish, but the somewhat ironic severity is sharp. Bernard claims that he himself represents the pious purity and simplicity that Fulk has rejected for the luxurious curiosity of the

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[95] Pearsall and Salter 1973, 26.
[96] Pranger 1993, 47.
[97] "Non miror si mireris, sed miror si non mireris, unde mihi ut ad te scribere vellem, civem rusticus, scholasticum monachus […]" Ep 2.1; Winkler II: 264. James's translation, 10.
[98] Stock 1990, 169.

city. It is significant that Bernard calls himself a rustic rather than a desert-dweller; his is not the call of the wild but the vocation for cenobitic soldiery against carnal vices. The topographical contrast between countryside and city is at the surface, but this contrast discloses a gap between two irreconcilable ways of life, shown in Bernard's question to Fulk towards the end of the letter: "What business have you in towns who have chosen the cloister? What do you in the world who have renounced the world? 'The Lord is your portion in pleasant places' (cf. Ps 15.6) and yet you still gape after worldly riches."[99] The difference between Fulk's former life as a regular and that to which he has now committed himself is further augmented in the epistolary finale:

> What business have you in towns, fancy soldier? Your brother soldiers, whom you have deserted by running away, are fighting and conquering, they are knocking on the gates of heaven and it is being opened unto them, they take the kingdom of heaven by force and are kings, while you trot around the streets and market places on your horse, clothed in scarlet and fine linen. But these are (the paraphernalia of peace) not the accoutrements of war! Or are you one of those who say, 'Peace, peace and there is no peace'? (Ezek 13.10) Sumptuous clothes are no protection against lust and pride, they do not keep avarice at bay, nor quench any other fiery darts of the enemy. Nor do they help against the fever you fear even more and they cannot keep death away. Where, then, are your arms of war? […] Make yourself known, I pray you, first in the battle, show yourself in the fight, lest on that last day you be known only to the devils in hell and not to Christ in glory.[100]

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[99] "Quid facis in urbe, qui claustrum elegeras? Quid tibi cum saeculo, qui saeculum spreveras? FUNES CECIDERUNT tibi IN PRAECLARIS (Ps 15.6), et tu opibus inhias terrenis?" Ep 2.11; Winkler II: 282. James's translation, 17. The wording to some extent echoes Jerome's exclamation to Paul the presbyter who wants to go to Jerusalem: "[…] but if you desire, as you are said to do, to be a monk, that is alone, what do you do in towns, which are the habitat not of the solitary ones but of the multitudes?" ("[…] sin autem cupis esse, quod diceris, monachus, id est solus, *quid facis in urbibus*, quae utique non sunt solorum habitacula, sed multorum?") *Epistula* 58.5, PL 22.583. My italics. Bernard, however, inverts the contrast, applying vain singularity to the city-dweller Fulk and the spiritual benefits to the cenobitic society in the wilderness.

[100] "Quid agis in urbe, delicate miles? Commilitones tui, quos fugiens deseruisti, pugnant et vincunt, pulsant et intrant, caelum rapiunt et regnant, et tu, sedens super ambulatorem tuum, indutus purpura et bysso, circuis plateas, vicos perambulas? Haec sunt pacis ornamenta, non belli munimenta. An dicis PAX, ET NON EST PAX? (Ezek 13.10) Purpura non propulsat libidinem, non superbiam, non avaritiam repellit, et si qua sunt alia ignea inimici iacula, non exstinguit. Denique, quod magis metuis, febrem non prohibet, mortem non arcet. Ubi sunt arma bellica? […] Fac, quaeso, te prius sciri, fac te prius videri, ne tunc nesciaris ad gloriam, sciaris autem ad poenam." Ep 2.12; Winkler II: 284. James's translation, 18. My parenthetical addition to James's translation.

It is probably no coincidence that this urban soldier, forestalling the old knighthood of *De laude novae militiae*, is here described in terms reflecting the passages on the impious walking in circles.[101] The city-dweller wanders about carelessly in his terrestrial habitat, purposelessly at best—or with the wrong purposes. The monk, however, aims directly at his goal and by making himself known to Christ in the battle to some degree anticipates his celestial citizenship or at least paves the way.[102]

Perhaps the description of the assumed rich vestment of Fulk, who is conventionally depicted as clad in scarlet and fine linen, has an ominous ring of the merchants' laments over Babylon in Rev 18.16: "Alas, alas, the great city, clothed in fine linen, in purple and scarlet".[103] But the phrasing occurs several times and with different implications. By listening to his uncle, Fulk has positioned himself in the wrong place in the soteriological topography. He has anticipated the peace which is basically not to be had before beatitude, in disregard of the martial conditions of present life. The city makes a suitable backdrop for his vain purposelessness as a locus of terrestrial settlement as opposed to regular life. This theme will have to be explored in more detail in the next chapter.

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[101] Dil VII.18 and 19 with reference to Ps 11.9: "in circuitu impii ambulant", see also the discussion of Par I.

[102] The themes are genuinely Bernardine; the wording may be influenced by Jerome. "Quid agis in urbe, delicate miles?" Bernard asks Fulk. "Quid facis in paterna domo, delicate miles?" Jerome asked Heliodorus in *Epistula* 14.2, PL 22.348. The wording *delicate miles* is also applied to Robert in Ep 1.13 in which Bernard in a similar fashion endeavours to waken Robert to the tough yet rewarding military service of Cistercian life. Bernard's Ep 322.2 shows that he has known at least parts of Jerome's *Epistula* 14.

[103] Vulgate: "vae vae civitas illa magna quae amicta erat byssino et purpura et cocco".

TOPOGRAPHICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Of the features of Pickles's cartographic scheme, we have so far looked at the cartographer's communication of a geographic reality (topographies based on interpretative appropriation of the Bible) by means of textual mappings encoded with signatures (topographical indications and their interaction). The aspects pertaining to that part of the process which relates to the reader's perception thus remain to be examined. In this context, the interest lies with the implied reader rather than the receptive *Sitz-im-Leben* of the Bernardine texts.

Accordingly, we shall give some attention to Bernard's directions to the readers, pointing them towards their own position in the soteriological landscape. Not surprisingly, there are many such directions. Bernard after all is not a modern cartographer pretending to objectivity but an author with a quite distinct intention. He offers a range of textual indicators pinning down man's post-lapsarian "You are here", furthermore charting the point of departure, the destination, and eventually the way leading there. His textual mapping thus offers a kind of prolongation of the vision, and an aid to those who do not know the way by heart—the ideal according to *De gradibus humilitatis*.

I. *Topographical anthropology: Prolegomena*

The textual "You are here" is most commonly to be found in references to the anthropology that is inseparable from the topography. The representation of soteriological topography gives rise to a topographically attuned anthropological vocabulary capable of denominating a spectre of relations between man and land, and thus signifying the situation of man in the topographical framework.

Like the topography, the related anthropology is no Bernardine invention. It has its footings in the Bible and has been elaborated by the Church Fathers. In summary, this anthropology runs as follows: man has been created in the Garden of Eden, his original homeland. In this homeland, he has dominion over other creatures and may

even be considered the adopted son of God. *Qua* his creation in the image and likeness of God, he is moreover capable of partaking in celestial beatitude as a fully-fledged citizen. After the Fall, however, he has been expelled from his homeland, henceforth to live in a state of exile and alienation. Alienation, that is, both from the original and the future homeland. Such is his basic post-lapsarian condition. The onus is now on man to acknowledge this situation and estrange himself from terrestrial carnality, thus exerting himself to achieve a degree of propinquity with the homeland.

1. *New Testament bases*

Three New Testament passages will be adduced by way of thematic prologue to this compound field. We shall come across these and other biblical references in recontextualized versions when we come to look more closely at the Bernardine texts in the course of the chapter.

2 Cor 5.1–6 expounds the difference between the body which forms the earthly habitation of man and the house of God for which he yearns:

> For we know that if the earthly tent we live in is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this tent we groan, longing to be clothed with our heavenly dwelling—if indeed, when we have taken it off we will not be found naked. For while we are still in this tent, we groan under our burden, because we wish not to be unclothed but to be further clothed, so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life. He who has prepared us for this very thing is God, who has given us the Spirit as guarantee. So we are always confident; even though we know that while we are at home in the body we are away from the Lord.[1]

This passage evokes the transitory nature of terrestrial life. It also points to the absoluteness of the distance from God in ontologically marked corporeality. As we shall see, the word *peregrinor* is central in the receptive history of this text.

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[1] Vulgate: "scimus enim quoniam si terrestris domus nostra huius habitationis dissolvatur quod aedificationem ex Deo habeamus domum non manufactam aeternam in caelis nam et in hoc ingemescimus habitationem nostram quae de caelo est superindui cupientes si tamen vestiti non nudi inveniamur nam et qui sumus in tabernaculo ingemescimus gravati eo quod nolumus expoliari sed supervestiri ut absorbeatur quod mortale est a vita qui autem efficit nos in hoc ipsum Deus qui dedit nobis pignus Spiritus audentes igitur semper et scientes quoniam dum sumus in corpore peregrinamur a Domino".

Another reference which plays an important part in the shaping of the topographical anthropology is Eph 2.19–20: "So then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are citizens with the saints and also members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the cornerstone."[2] The letter to the Ephesians plays on proximity and distance. It represents the recreation through Christ not only of the "circumcised" but also of the Gentiles who used to be no part of the covenant. They are now united in the church with Christ as the head and thus no longer strangers but members of God's household with co-ordinate citizenship. In the history of reception, the aliens of Eph 2–19 are generally not represented as the "Gentiles" of the original context but as those once estranged from their heavenly homeland by the Fall. This alienation is then contrasted with the citizenship and homecoming related to beatitude.

The third reference is to Heb 11.13–16, showing the faith of the Old Testament patriarchs:

> All of these died in faith without having received the promises, but from a distance they saw and greeted them. They confessed that they were strangers and foreigners on the earth, for people who speak in this way make it clear that they are seeking a homeland. If they had been thinking of the land that they had left behind, they would have had opportunity to return. But as it is, they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly one. Therefore God is not ashamed to be called their God; indeed, he has prepared a city for them.[3]

In its reception, this passage is generally stripped of its patriarchal context and employed as a representation of earthly alienation from the celestial homeland. Thus it is often no longer the promises but the heavenly homeland which is greeted from afar.

All three references are used as allusions to a soteriological landscape of loss and alienation: a landscape whose anthropological centre of gravity is the notion of *peregrinus*. Recent literature on *peregrinatio* in

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[2] Vulgate: "ergo iam non estis hospites et advenae sed estis cives sanctorum et domestici Dei superaedificati super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu".

[3] Vulgate: "iuxta fidem defuncti sunt omnes isti non acceptis repromissionibus sed a longe eas aspicientes et salutantes et confitentes quia peregrini et hospites sunt supra terram qui enim haec dicunt significant se patriam inquirere et si quidem illius meminissent de qua exierunt habebant utique tempus revertendi nunc autem meliorem appetunt id est caelestem ideo non confunditur Deus vocari Deus eorum paravit enim illis civitatem".

the sense of pilgrimage, from the fields of anthropology, history, and religious studies, abounds. It seems, however, to require one step further back in academic time to find studies of the conceptual implications of *peregrinatio* which is of interest in this case. The work of Ladner, Leclercq, and Constable looms large in the following considerations.

II. *The Bernardine* peregrinus[4]

In a Christian context, the alienation of the *peregrinus* comes in two variants. Bernard offers both of these.

1. *Alienation from God*

The first alienation is from the God; the *peregrinus* is exiled from his par-adisiacal *patria*. Expelled from Paradise, man became a *peregrinus* in ter-restrial carnality which is henceforth for him a place of peregrination (*locus peregrinationis*, Ps 118.54).[5] The state of the *peregrinus* in this place is crystallized in SC 53.5: "For we mortal men, while living as pilgrims, are compelled to eat our bread in the sweat of our brow, begging it from without with hardship and anguish, that is, either from learned men or holy books […]".[6] The post-lapsarian alienation not only implies expul-sion from Paradise; it also separates man from immediate knowledge of God, and he is now thrown back on intermediaries.

   Man may not feel at home in terrestriality, or rather should not. The Devil, however, is in his natural habitat here: "Great is the danger and heavy is the fight against the domestic enemy, even more so because

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[4] In classical Latin, a *peregrinus* (from "per-ager") is one who has gone through lands. *Peregrinatio* primarily designates the legal state of alienation, and a *peregrinus* is first and foremost a person from somewhere other than Rome. Even if he has dwelled in Rome for his whole life and is Latin-speaking, the *peregrinus* remains a foreigner without citizenship or citizen rights. Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary* and Noy 2000, 1. For scrutinies of the fate of the concept and idea of *peregrinatio* see Leclercq 1960 and 1961, Ladner 1967, and Constable 1977.

[5] Vulgate, "cantabiles mihi erant iustificationes tuae in loco peregrinationis meae". NRSV's rendering of the Hebrew of this verse does not imply the "place of pilgrimage" of Vulgate's rendering of LXX.

[6] "Nam nos quidem mortales homines interim in loco peregrinationis nostrae, in sudore vultus nostri comedere panem nostrum necesse habemus, foris illum in labore et aerumna mendicantes, id est vel a doctis viris, vel a sacris libris […]" SC 53.III.5; Winkler VI: 210. Walsh and Edmonds's translation, III: 62.

we are strangers, and he is a citizen: he dwells in his own region, we are exiles and foreigners."[7] By way of inversion, the mark of Cain here works as a distinction of sorts. The status as *peregrinus* after all implies a link to the homeland from which man was alienated—if only through negation.

2. *Alienation from alienation*

The second alienation is from the first. This is the stance of those who respond to the world with distance and abstention. The ascetic *peregrinus* appears in Bernard's obituary of the saintly Humbert, in which he alludes to 1 Pet 2.11,[8] a favourite reference in the description of monastic alienation from terrestriality: "As stranger and pilgrim he went through this way and this life, paying attention as little as he could to the things of this world, because he knew that he was not of this world."[9] Another seminal biblical text in this regard is the vocation of Abraham in Gen 12.1: "Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you."[10] In Epi 2.2, this call is interwoven with that of Song 3.10–11, "Daughters of Jerusalem, come out. Look, O daughters of Zion, at King Solomon".[11]

> It is to you, daughters of Zion, that we speak, you secular souls, you feeble and voluptuous daughters, not sons, in whom there is nothing of strength, nothing of manly spirit: Come out, daughters of Zion. Come out of carnal inclination to the insight of the mind; from the bondage of carnal lust to the liberty of spiritual understanding. Come out of your land, your kinship, and your father's house and see King Solomon.[12]

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[7] "Grande quidem periculum est, et gravis lucta adversus domesticum hostem, maxime cum nos advenae simus, et ille civis: ille suam inhabitet regionem, nos exsules simus, et peregrini." Quad 5.3; Winkler VII: 482.

[8] NRSV: "Beloved, I urge you as aliens and exiles to abstain from the desires of the flesh that wage war against the soul"; Vulgate: "carissimi obsecro tamquam advenas et peregrinos abstinere vos a carnalibus desideriis quae militant adversus animam".

[9] "Sicut advena et peregrinus pertransiit viam et vitam istam, quantum minus potuit de mundi rebus accipiens, utpote sciens quia non erat de hoc mundo." Humb 2; Winkler VIII: 954.

[10] Vulgate: "egredere de terra tua et de cognatione tua et de domo patris tui".

[11] Vulgate: "filias Hierusalem egredimini et videte filiae Sion regem Salomonem".

[12] "Vobis ergo dicimus, filiae Sion, animae saeculares, debiles, delicatae filiae, et non filii, in quibus nihil est fortitudinis, nihil virilis animi: Egredimini, filiae Sion. Egredimini de sensu carnis ad intellectum mentis, de servitute carnalis concupiscentiae ad libertatem spiritualis intelligentiae. Egredimini de terra vestra et de cognatione vestra et de domo patris vestri, et videte regem Salomonem [...]" Epi 2.2; Winkler VII: 338–340.

This is not just a matter of estrangement through asceticism. The evocation is for the carnal souls to wrench themselves from the post-lapsarian state and its consequences of carnal disposition, thraldom to sin, and marred insights. It is the sight of King Solomon, the newborn Christ, that should entice them from their present situation, the soteriological misery of which these careless daughters are apparently unconscious. Bernard also, however, at times expresses the urge for estrangement in a more inclusive tone:

> Let us, thus, dearly beloved, beware of useless thoughts, so that the appearance of our souls remains noble and so that we forget what lies behind us, that is, our people and the house of our father and so that the King shall covet our beauty (cf. Ps 44.11). Let us leave our land, so that no thought captures us which is inclined towards carnal lust. Let us also leave our kinship that is thoughts of the curiosity which dwells in the corporeal senses and is certainly akin to carnal lust. Let us leave our father's house, so that we flee thoughts of pride and vanity. Also we were once, like everyone else, children of wrath (Eph 2.3); also we had the Devil as our father (cf. Jn 8.44) […][13]

The carnality, curiosity, and lust which are to post-lapsarian man an environment so natural that it resembles home, must be left behind. The call of God to Abraham is also the continual vocation of the monk. In short, alienation from carnality is considered a means that may to some extent remedy the alienation from God.

3. *The locales of the* peregrinus

The *peregrinus* is constantly held in suspense between homeland and alienation. His relationship to each of these is reflected in his choice of habitation.

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[13] "Caveamus ergo, dilectissimi, cogitationes inutiles, ut animarum nostrarum facies decora permaneat, ut obliti quae retro sunt, id est populum nostrum et domum patris nostri, concupiscat Rex speciem nostram. Exeamus de terra nostra, ut non apprehendat nos cogitatio spectans ad voluptatem carnis. Exeamus et de cognatione nostra, id est a cogitationibus curiositatis, quae nimirum, cum in sensibus corporeis habitet, carnali utique cognata est voluptati. Exeamus etiam de domo patris nostri, ut fugiamus cogitationes superbiae et vanitatis. Eramus et nos aliquando, sicut et ceteri, filii irae; eramus et nos ex patre diabolo […]" Div 6.2; Winkler IX: 232.

a. Tents or cities

According to Augustine, Cain founded the first terrestrial city (Gen 4.17) and thus laid the foundation for the *civitas terrena*: whereas Abel, who was a pilgrim and stranger on earth and belonged to the *civitas* of God, founded none.[14] This is the quintessence of the idea that terrestrial settlement equates with terrestrial absorption. The city is the epitome of settlement, and dwelling in it betrays inappropriate confirmation of a terrestrial citizenship where there should have been an attestation of its transitory nature. In the Anglo-Saxon poem *Exodus* (from c. 1100), the Egyptians are thus decried as "city-dwellers" as opposed to the "migrant" Israelites.[15]

The body, states the tent-maker Paul in 2 Cor 5.6, is not like a house but like a tent. This basic condition reflects in the ideal: not the house of the citizen but the tent of the soldier is the habitation which is appropriate in terrestrial provisionality; not until beatitude is the Christian allowed domesticity. We have already come across this theme in Ded 2.4's juxtaposition of the warrior-tent *hic* and the firmer mansion *ibi* (Chapter Two). These tents are reminiscent of those of 2 Cor 5.6, but other biblical tents are not far away.

In several texts, Bernard establishes a progression of three steps:[16] first the tent which is the habitat of those soldiering and labouring in the present life, then the courts where the souls rest when they have left their bodies, and finally the stability of the house in which, after the resurrection of the body, they shall dwell with the angels. The tent befits terrestrial ephemerality: "The tent has a roof but lacks foundation and it is portable, because the just ones are not grounded in the present but seek the city which has a foundation beneath it."[17]

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[14] "Scriptum est itaque de Cain, quod condiderit ciuitatem; Abel autem tamquam peregrinus non condidit. Superna est enim sanctorum ciuitas, quamuis hic pariat ciues […]" *De civitate Dei* XV.1; XIV.2: 454.

[15] *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, 51–52.

[16] With reference to Ps 83.2, Vulgate: "Quam dilecta tabernacula tua Domine virtutum concupiscit et defecit anima mea in atria Domino." See Div 78, Sent III.80, Ded 4.4, and OS 3.1.

[17] "Tabernaculum vero habet tectum, sed fundamento caret et portabile est, quia iusti in praesentibus non sunt fundati, sed inquirunt civitatem deorsum fundamenta habentem." Div 78; Winkler IX: 656. The theme finds a more extensive elaboration in Ded 4.4–6.

A specific group of tents are those of Kedar (Song 1.4) which are expounded in SC 26 in a passage which clusters a few of the central biblical *peregrinatio*-passages together with the theme of soldiering:

> For what is meant by tents but our bodies, in which we wander as pilgrims? (cf. 2 Cor 5.6) 'For we have not here a lasting city, but we seek one that is to come' (Heb 13.14). We even wage war in them, like soldiers in tents, like violent men taking the kingdom by force. In a word 'the life of man upon earth is a warfare' (Job 7.1), and as long as we do battle in this body 'we are away from the Lord' (2 Cor 5.6), away from the light […] Our bodily dwelling-place therefore, is neither a citizen's residence nor one's native home, but rather a soldier's tent or traveller's hut.[18]

This passage merges the tents of Kedar from Song 1.4 with the tents of earthly habitation of 2 Cor 5.1–6. The warfare derived from the Song-reference converges with the progressive thrust of the Pauline letter. The passage points out both the 'identities' that man must assume on earth: *peregrinus*, *miles*, and *viator*, and those that are to be shunned: *indigena* and *civis*. Here, the soldiers are defined not only by their fighting but also by their sense of purpose; they are heading straight for the kingdom, like Cassian's monks who with the same singleness of mind as worldly soldiers forget death and danger in view of the honour and glory awaiting them.[19] But the tent of the body is also a barrier (*obiectus*) which hinders the view of the unrestricted light so that this is only seen in a mirror, not face to face (1 Cor 13.12). The body is the habit and, indeed, habitat associated with a terrestrial stage which is marked by a desperate longing for that *requies* of the bridegroom which reaches a culmination in SC 31–33.

b. Ways and stables

Apart from denominating someone alienated from God and the world respectively, the term *peregrinus* refers to the traveller who embodies both an estrangement from carnality and a physical impetus towards

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[18] "Quid enim tabernacula, nisi nostra sunt corpora in quibus peregrinamur? Nec enim habemus hic manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus (Heb 13.14). Sed et militamus in eis, tamquam in tabernaculis, prorsus violenti ad regnum. Denique Militia est vita hominis super terram (Job 7.1), et quamdiu militamus in hoc corpore, peregrinamur a Domino, id est a luce. […] Est ergo hoc habitaculum nostri corporis, non civis mansio aut indigenae domus, sed aut tabernaculum militantis aut stabulum viatoris." SC 26.I.1; Winkler V: 388. Walsh's translation, II: 58–59.

[19] John Cassian, *Collationes* I.2.

the holy goal. This applies to the *peregrinatio ex patria* of, for instance, Irish monks heading for the Continent as well as the *peregrinatio ad locam sanctam* of the pilgrim. Unsurprisingly, this employment of the term *peregrinus* is less prevalent in Bernard, whose insistence on *stabilitas loci* is notorious.

This does not mean, however, that Bernard is not concerned with travel and wayfaring. In his texts, the *peregrinus* fuses with the *viator* bound for his heavenly homeland. The passive implications of *peregrinatio* as a state converge with the restless and purposeful proceedings related to the wayfarer's journey. This wayfaring is a progression from virtue to virtue, from terrestriality towards saintliness, from the carnal towards the spiritual, and it has Christ as its point of orientation.

Its Christological character is rooted in Jn 14.6 "I am the way, and the truth, and the life" (*Ego sum via et veritas et vita*). This is the point of departure for *De gradibus humilitatis*. Bernard launches his treatise with the statement that in Jn 14.6 Christ displays both the tribulation of the way and its wage (*viae laborem, laboris merces*). The way is humility, truth the goal. The addition of *vita* points to the *viaticum*, the sustenance on the way, equally provided by Christ.[20] And the wanderer is in need of all the support he can get: "You have numbered my steps, O Lord (cf. Job 14.15), but I am a slow climber, a weary traveller, and I need a resting place."[21] If *diverticula* is rendered instead as "byways",[22] this *viator* is not only tired, he is also in danger of forfeiting his salvation. As we shall see in Par I, deviation constitutes the primary danger for the wayfarer. When Christ joins the wayfarer, however, the journey is no longer unbearable.

The depiction of Christ as fellow *viator* is one of the stages of SC 31's portrait of Christ as groom, doctor, guide, and king:

> Sometimes, too, he joins up as a traveller with the bride and the maidens who accompany her on the road, and lightens the hardships of the journey for the whole company by his fascinating conversation, so that when he has parted from them they ask, 'Did not our hearts burn within us as he talked to us on the road? (Lk 24.32)' A silver-tongued companion

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[20] Gra I.1; Winkler II: 44–46.

[21] "Tu quidem, Domine, gressus meos dinumeras, sed ego lentus ascensor, fessus viator, diverticula quaero." Gra IX.24; Winkler II: 82. Conway's translation, 53.

[22] The meaning offered in Georges' *Ausführliches Lateinisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch*. Cf. also Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, which renders *divortium* as "a fork in a road".

who, by the spell of his words and manners, persuades everyone, as if in a sweet-smelling cloud arising from the ointments, to follow him. Hence they say: 'We will run after jou in the odor of your ointments (Song 1.3).'[23]

Here the disciples on their way to Emmaus blend with the bride and her maidens of Song, and the resurrected Christ accosting his unaware friends merges with the bridegroom drawing the rapt bride towards him. The labours which were dominant in *De gradibus humilitatis* and its stress on the humility of Christ as the ideal of the *viator*, are soon forgotten. The *viaticum* of Christ not only keeps the *viator* alive but even quickens him.[24]

Just as the *peregrinus* has his tent, so the *viator* is sheltered in the *stabulum viatoris*. In SC 26 the reference to the stable of the wayfarer echoes Augustine: "Because this whole life, and everything that you use in this life, must be for you just like the stable of the wayfarer, not like the house of the inhabitant".[25] The stable of the wayfarer is a motif which implies both the ephemeral nature of life *in via* and the wayfarer's need of a refuge. The stable only anticipates the homeland: "Let not the wayfarer travelling towards the fatherland love the stable instead of his home."[26] Like the *peregrinus*, the *viator* must remember that he is *in via* and not yet *in patria*, and act accordingly.

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[23] "Nunc rursum quasi viator quispiam itinerantibus sponsae simul atque adolescentulis sese associans, iucundissimis confabulationibus suis a labore viae omnem relevat comitatum, ita ut eo discedente loquantur: NONNE COR NOSTRUM ARDENS ERAT IN NOBIS, DUM LOQUERETUR NOBIS IN VIA? (Lk 24.32). Facundus comes, qui in sermonum et morum suavitate suorum, tamquam in quadam fragranti suaveolentia spirantium unguentorum, post se currere faciat universos; unde et dicunt: IN ODORE UNGUENTORUM TUORUM CURREMUS (Song 1.3, not the Vulgate wording)." SC 31.III.7; Winkler IX: 496. Walsh's translation, II: 130.

[24] As F.C. Gardiner points out, in Augustine, Emmaus sets the frame for a representation of the pilgrimage of this life whereas in Gregory the Great, it is employed as a display of the dynamics of love and doubt in human peregrination. Gardiner 1971, 11–52.

[25] "[…] quia tota ista vita, et omnia quibus uteris in hac uita, sic tibi debent esse tamquam stabulum uiatori, non tamquam domus habitatori." *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 34.6; X.1: 304.

[26] "[…] ne uiator tendens ad patriam, stabulum amet pro domo sua." *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 40.5; X.1: 453. Augustine elsewhere associates the stable with the Church: "*Stabulum* est ecclesia, ubi reficiuntur uiatores de peregrinatione in aeternam patriam redeuntes." *Quaestiones Euangeliorum* II.19, 63 (italics from the edition).

c. Excursus: The ways of the *viator*

The *viator* is dedicated to his *via*, ideally the *via regia*. The topos of *via regia* emerges from a fusion of Num 20.17 and Num 21.22.[27] The royal way is the highway which goes straight through the country to the royal capital.[28] This meaning is reappropriated in the allegorical interpretation of *via regia* as the straight way to the celestial kingdom reigned over by Christ. But it is furthermore implied in the point that it is the way that has been shown by Christ in an association of *via regia* with Jn 14.6's declaration of Christ as the Way.

This merger seems to go back to Origen in his homiletic exposition of the royal way in Numbers. According to Origen, travelling the *via regia* denotes progression along the way of Christ without deviating into the land of the Amorites, that is, the philosophers, poets, and astrologers of the infidels.[29] Cassian speaks of monastic asceticism as the royal way. In his description of ascetic mortification, he associates *via regia* with the *iugum Christi*.[30] In Cassian, the *via regia* is "[…] reinforced by apostolic and prophetic stones and levelled by the footsteps of all the saints and the lord himself […]".[31]

In Bernard, the two significant features of *via regia* are its royal quality linking it to Christ and the topos of the straightness implied in the biblical wording about turning neither left nor right. In Dil VII.21, *via regia* is ruled firmly across the desultory circles of the impious:

[27] Num 20.17, NRSV: "Now let us pass through your land. We will not pass through field or vineyard, or drink water from any well; we will go along the King's Highway, not turning aside to the right hand or to the left until we have passed through your territory"; Vulgate: "obsecramus ut nobis transire liceat per terram tuam non ibimus per agros nec per vineas non bibemus aquas de puteis tuis sed gradiemur via publica nec ad dextram nec ad sinistram declinantes donec transeamus terminos tuos". The passage is reproduced almost verbatim in Num 21.22, only there the way is designated "via regia", the royal way, instead of "via publica". In Num, the Israelites were not granted safe conduct on the *via regia*—they were attacked by King Sihon and the Amorites (Num 21.21–25).

[28] Leclercq 1948, 339.

[29] *Homilia* XII.5–6, 106–110.

[30] Mt 11.30, NRSV: "For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light".

[31] "[…] apostolicis ac propheticis silicibus communitam sanctorumque omnium atque ipsius domini vestigiis conplanatam […]" *Collatio* XXIV.24; III: 196–197. Jerome represents the royal way as the middle way: *via regia temperantia est*: for instance, frugality as the middle between parsimony and luxury, *Commentariorum in Esaiam* XVI.57.10; I.2A: 649–650.

> The just man is not like that. Hearing about the evil conduct of those
> who remain inside the circle (for many follow the wider road which leads
> to death), he prefers the royal road which turns neither to the right nor
> to the left. Finally the Prophet confirms: 'The path of the just is straight,
> the straight forward for walking' (Isa 26.7). These are the ones who take
> a salutary short-cut and avoid the dangerous, fruitless round-about way,
> choosing the shortened and shortening word, not desiring everything
> they see, but rather selling all they have and giving it to the poor.[32]

But *via regia* is also, for instance, the Virgin in that she is the way by
which the Word incarnate arrives (Adv 2.5). In SC 43, *via regia* is rather
laconically termed the way between joy and the sadness of this life
(*inter laeta tristiaque vitae praesentis*).[33] The short-cut character of *via regia*
and its association with the *verbum abbreviatum*[34] of the Word incarnate is
an instance of a spatial term which distends most notions of spatiality.
Because of its direct and goal-orientated nature, this way which in its
biblical basis traverses entire kingdoms connotes a traversability of the
otherwise absolute demarcation between heaven and earth, between
'heres' and 'theres'.

There are, however, also more prolonged ways in Bernard. The 'way
of the Lord' more generally speaking assumes a number of different
characters. It may be described as straight, beautiful, plentiful, and
without obstacles (*Viae Domini viae rectae, viae pulchrae, viae plenae, viae
planae*)[35] but also as arduous (*ardua*), narrow (*arta*), long (*longa*), and
laborious (*laboriosa*).[36] The narrowness may even be deemed a semantic
necessity. In Div 1.3 it is stated that a broad way is not a way because
broadness pertains to plains rather than ways (*Neque enim via est lata via
[…] latitudo ad planitiem pertinet magis quam ad viam*). Furthermore, the
way may change character according to its different stages. Thus, in
Div 1.3, the section of the way that is related to the humble obedience

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[32] "Iustus autem non ita. Audiens nempe vituperationem multorum commorantium
in circuitu,—multi enim sunt viam latam pergentes, quae ducit ad mortem—, ipse sibi
regiam eligit viam, non declinans ad dexteram vel ad sinistram. Denique, attestante
Propheta, SEMITA IUSTI RECTA EST, RECTUS CALLIS IUSTI AD AMBULANDUM (Isa 26.7). Hi
sunt, qui salubri compendio cauti sunt molestum hunc et infructuosum vitare circui-
tum, verbum abbreviatum et abbrevians eligentes, non cupere quaecumque vident, sed
vendere magis quae possident et dare pauperibus." Dil VII.21; Winkler I: 108–110. Wal-
ton's translation, 113. Walton's parenthesis.

[33] SC 43.4; Winkler VI: 100.

[34] Related to Vulgate's rendering of Rom 9.28: "quia verbum breviatum faciet
Dominus super terram".

[35] Div 21.1.

[36] Div 33.8.

of King David is embellished with the flowers of humility, while the section related to persevering obedience is difficult to follow and full of thorny curves (*Difficilis est via ista et gravis spinosis anfractibus*).[37]

The progressive drive of Bernardine edification, urging the wayfarer to move ahead, reaches a peak in his homiletic blending of the progression in virtues and the liturgical procession at the purification of Mary. In one of his sermons for that feast the abbot plays on the contrast between the standstill at the liturgical stations in the cloister and the overall progress of the procession. At the same time, he stresses that the conclusion of the procession with Mass is itself but an anticipatory fulfilment:

> If there is perhaps anyone who fails to advance in these [virtues] and to proceed from virtue to virtue he should know that in this way he is not in procession but at a station, even in regression. For in the way of life, lack of progression is regression while nothing remains in the same position. Our progression furthermore, as I recall having often said, consists in never believing that we have seized [our goal], but constantly striving for what lies ahead of us […][38]

Lack of progression is regression. There is a general tension in the Bernardine texts between the claims for linear progressions and purposeful proceedings and the frequent hints or displays of textual meandering. As we saw in SC 23, the way may be laid out and the bride eager to be on her way, but the homiletic elaboration proceeds at its own good pace and with several stations, as it were, on its way. Pursuing the restless soul caught halfway between bliss and despair, Bernard's texts seldom take a straightforward course. And the more mature the reader—in the sense described in SC 1—the more labyrinthine and the less *via regia*-like the text. While doctrinally nothing is "worth a detour"

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[37] Div 41.9–10.
[38] "In quibus omnibus si quis forsitan proficere dissimulat, et proficisci de virtute in virtutem, noverit quisquis eiusmodi est, in statione, non in processione se esse, immo vero et in regressione, quoniam in via vitae non progredi regredi est, cum nihil adhuc in eodem statu permaneat. Porro profectus noster in eo consistit, ut saepius dixisse me memini, ut numquam arbitremur nos apprehendisse, sed semper extendamur in anteriora […]" Pur 2.3; Winkler VII: 416. The passage draws on Phil 3.13, NRSV: "Beloved, I do not consider that I have made it [the goal] my own; but this one thing I do: forgetting what lies behind and straining forward towards what lies ahead"; Vulgate: "fratres ego me non arbitror conprehendisse unum autem quae quidem retro sunt obliviscens ad ea vero quae sunt in priora extendens me". See also Farkasfalvy 1991.

and only the celestial goal is "worth a journey", this is not the case in the texts. Here, the *ductus* often forks and proliferates. Highly consciously, it seems. Sometimes Bernard even emphasizes it himself. In SC 53, he expounds upon the mountains and hills over which the bridegroom leaps and bounds (*Ecce venit is saliens in montibus, transiliens colles*, Song 2.8): having directed his audience's attention to the differentiation between the part of *civitas Domini* which reigns in heaven and that which peregrinates on earth, he resumes his interpretative course with the words: "To return to that from which we digressed a little—though necessarily I think—these then are the mountains and hills […]".[39]

Even the standstill so loathed in the sermon for the purification of Mary, is introduced as a textual device. That same SC 53 ends on an explicitly stationary note: "The day is moving on, and we may not yet descend from these mountains" (*Sed inclinata est dies, nec adhuc omnino de his montibus descendere libet*),[40] he complains, merging the context of the alleged homiletic *Sitz-im-Leben*[41] and the landscape evoked in the course of the sermon. If he were to investigate his topic even further

> we must fear that the sermon will either lack becoming brevity or that a matter so excellent and promising will be deprived by hastiness of due consideration. If you agree, then, let us rest here today in these mountains, because it is good for us to be here, gathered by Christ together with the holy angels in a place of pasture, to be fed with richer and sweeter fare. […] let us ruminate the repast from the Good Shepherd, what we have swallowed down so greedily in today's sermon […][42]

Here, the *festinatio* with which bride and bridegroom elsewhere hasten towards each other (e.g. SC 51.3, SC 57.6 and 10), is dismissed as textual

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[39] "Hi ergo—ut ad id recurramus, unde aliquantum, sed, ut puto, necessarie digressum est—illi sunt montes atque colles […]" SC 53.III.7; Winkler VI: 212. Walsh and Edmonds's translation, III: 64.

[40] SC 53.IV.8; Winkler VI: 216. Walsh and Edmonds's translation, III: 66.

[41] The literary character of these texts should be kept in mind. For a discussion about the literary nature of the sermons on the Songs see C. Holdsworth's questioning of Leclercq's claim for their exclusively literary character, Holdsworth 1998, challenged in turn by W. Verbaal in Verbaal 2000.

[42] "[…] verendum ne aut sermo grata brevitate careat, aut larga excellensque materies debita diligentia festinatione fraudetur. Pausemus proinde hodie iam, si placet, in montibus istis, quoniam bonum est nos hic esse, ubi a pastore Christo, una cum sanctis angelis in loco pascua collocati, et iucundius pascimur, et uberius. […] Ruminemus ergo, tamquam munda animalia, boni pastoris quae de hodierno sermone tota aviditate glutivimus […]" SC 53.IV.9; Winkler VI: 216. Walsh and Edmonds's translation, III: 66–67.

strategy, giving way to the ruminating pause. The *viaticum* of Christ blends with the nourishment of the pastures of Song in contrast to the bread of sorrow served after the expulsion in SC 53.5. This digestion takes time. Also SC 31.10 ends on a pause; once again the substance exceeds the sermon: "This necessitates that we break off rather than finish off. Since the matter is merely suspended we must keep it alive in our memories, so as to resume soon again where we have left off […]".[43] Is it perhaps the memory which stays alive while the sermon rests, working on the commitment of the matter to *memoria*?

The textual tortuousness, it may be argued, illustrates the convolutions of extra-paradisiacal life. Wayfaring along *via regia* may be the constant ambition, but deterrence remains the basic condition. This applies to the impious walking in circles but equally, albeit in other ways, to the monk in his suspension between heaven and earth. It is present in the polarity permeating SC 26 where Bernard is torn from his exposition of the tents of Kedar and the body as the terrestrial habitation of the *peregrinus*, allegedly overpowered by the memory of his late brother Gerard. While rupturing the ongoing homiletic *exposé*, the discourse on Gerard may be seen as an elaboration from within, or from without, of the theme of citizenship and alienation that is the tenor of the sermon. The sermon shows us the sequence of events in reverse order.[44] Thus the chronological point of departure is revealed towards its conclusion:

> Last year when we were at Viterbo on the Church's business, Gerard became ill, so ill that it seemed God was about to call him to himself. I felt it unthinkable that my companion on my journeys, and so wonderful a companion, should be left behind in a foreign land.[45]

This may also be considered the topographical point of departure. While Gerard was not left behind in the foreign area of Viterbo, it is of course Bernard who has now been left behind in the world, in a *terra aliena* without his fellow *peregrinus*. Gerard, however, has passed on to the

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[43] "[…] atque hac necessitate videtur mihi iam rumpendus potius quam finiendus. Opportet autem ut, quoniam materia pendet, memoria vigilet, quatenus ubi pausatum erit, inde mox resumatur et pertractetur […]" SC 31.IV.10; Winkler V: 500. Walsh's translation, II: 133.

[44] See further the analysis of this sermon in Pranger 1994, 163–206.

[45] "Cum pro causa Ecclesiae anno praeterito Viterbii essemus, aegrotavit ille, et invalescente languore, cum iam proxima vocatio videretur, ego aegerrime ferens comitem peregrinationis, et illum comitem, in terra relinquere aliena […]" SC 26.VIII.14; Winkler V: 408. Walsh's translation, II: 73.

homeland (*transit ad patriam*, SC 26.11), has been summoned to repose (*vocavit ad requiem*, SC 26.8). The whole excursus on Gerard is probably anything but excursive. The passage reflects on the exposition of the hardships and transitoriness of terrestrial peregrination that precedes it, but also on that of the beauty of the bride that follows it in SC 27 after the following interlude: "My brothers, our friend has gone back to his homeland, we have paid the full tribute of human affection to his memory, so I take up again the instruction which I then discontinued."[46]

Another bifurcation is found in SC 76. Here Bernard's homiletic presentation of the monks as guards of the Holy City is brought to a somewhat abrupt conclusion:

> I am summoned to attend to another matter, and one which is of lesser importance. I am torn in pieces, and I do not know which is harder to bear, to be dragged away from the one or pulled to the other. But I suppose it would be even worse to suffer both together. O the bondage of necessity! What I do is not what I choose, but what I detest. But take note where I have left off, so that we may take it up again quickly as soon as we are free to do so, in the name of the Bridegroom of the Church, Jesus Christ Our Lord, who is God above all, blessed for ever. Amen.[47]

"Evocamur in materiam alteram, et cui hanc cedere indignum". *La condition humaine.* Being human under sin is all about summonses to attend to unworthy matters. This breaking off is a rhetorical device which sustains the oral tenor of the sermon while playing a significant part in its literary composition. Bemoaning the subjection to *necessitas* is significant in an author who claims the unaffected nature of freedom from necessity (*libertas a necessitate*) as an implication of man's natural state in the image and likeness of God.[48] Does the passage not sustain the rupture between heaven and earth indicated in the sermon? On this open note, we shall leave our own excursus and return to the main focus of this chapter.

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[46] "Quia debitis humanitatis officiis amicum revertentem in patriam prosecuti sumus, redeo, fratres, ad propositum aedificandi, quod intermiseram." SC 27.I.1; Winkler V: 410. Walsh's translation, II: 74.

[47] "Evocamur in materiam alteram, et cui hanc cedere indignum. Angor undique, et quod aegrius feram ignoro, avelli ab ista an distendi in illa, nisi quod utrolibet simul utrumque molestius. O servitutem! O necessitatem! Non quod volo hoc ago, sed quod odi illud facio. Notate tamen ubi desinimus, ut quam cito in id redire liberum erit, inde mox ordiamur, in nomine sponsi Ecclesiae, Iesu Christi Domini nostri, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in saecula. Amen." SC 76.IV.10; Winkler VI: 536. Edmonds's translation, IV: 120.

[48] Gra II.4–III.7.

The compound spectrum of themes related to *peregrinus* and *viator* respectively implies a comprehensive spatially and chronologically pinpointed anthropology. This anthropology offers a range of different *Anknüpfungspunkte*; potential "You are here" marks aimed at the identification of the recipient. In Bernard's descriptions of man as stranger and wayfarer in the spiritual landscape, the two themes are thrown into interaction. In this interaction a tension is at work which chimes in with the eschatological and spiritual contrasts of here-there, now-then, temporality-eternity, labour-rest, and longing-fulfilment.

4. *Text I: Ep 64 and the monastic Jerusalem*

To conclude, we shall look into two texts each in its way rehearsing the contrast between *peregrinus* and *civis*.

Ep 64 is a *locus classicus*, and it will come as no surprise that here too, in a study of soteriological topography, this letter must be addressed. The letter is written to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln. It concerns Philip, a canon on pilgrimage, who on his way to Jerusalem has stopped at Clairvaux and decided to stay. Bernard writes what is allegedly a supplication to the bishop but nevertheless ends on a paraneic note. Here, however, we shall focus on the justification of Philip's choice and the inherent construction of Clairvaux as a Jerusalem:

> I write to tell you that your Philip has found a short cut to Jerusalem and has arrived there very quickly. He crossed 'the vast ocean stretching wide on every hand' with a favourable wind in a very short time, and he has now cast anchor on the shores for which he was making. Even now he stands in the courts of Jerusalem and 'whom he had heard tidings of in Ephrata he has found in the woodland plains, and gladly reverences in the place where he has halted in his journey' (cf. Ps 131.6–7). He has entered the holy city and has chosen his heritage with those of whom it has been deservedly said: 'You are no longer exiles or aliens; the saints are your fellow citizens, you belong to God's household' (Eph 2.19). His going and coming is in their company and he has become one of them, glorifying God and saying with them: 'We find our true home in heaven' (Phil 3.20). He is no longer an inquisitive onlooker, but a devout inhabitant and an enrolled citizen of Jerusalem; but not of that earthly Jerusalem to which Mount Sinai in Arabia is joined, and which is in bondage with her children, but of that free Jerusalem which is above and the mother of us all.
>
> And this, if you want to know, is Clairvaux. She is the Jerusalem united to the one in heaven by whole-hearted devotion, by conformity of life, and by a certain spiritual affinity. Here, so Philip promises himself, will

be his rest for ever and ever. He has chosen to dwell here because he has found, not yet to be sure the fullness of vision, but certainly the hope of that true peace […][49]

The whole issue of Jerusalem is sharpened by Bernard's engagement with the Templars, which may be regarded as a cause separate from the monastic context but which nevertheless draws on similar notions. And before turning to Philip we shall cast a glance at those who in Bernard's view were meant to proceed to the terrestrial Jerusalem.

It is noteworthy that the words describing the Templars arriving in Jerusalem are not greatly different from those describing Philip arriving in Clairvaux. In Tpl VI, Bernard sees the terrestrial Jerusalem as a figure of the heavenly one. And envisaging the visit of the knight to the sepulchre of Christ, he exclaims: "How sweet it must be for the pilgrims after the fatigue of their long journey and their many perils on land and sea to find rest there at last—there where they know their own Lord has rested!"[50] This passage is polyvalent. On the one hand, it expresses the direct and literal meaning that the crusaders have now crossed earth and sea and that they have reached their goal, the Holy Land. On the other hand, it expresses the ascetic meaning that after many mortifying hardships the pilgrims have now reached the goal of their

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[49] "Philippus vester, volens proficisci Ierosolymam, compendium viae invenit, et cito pervenit quo volebat. Transfretavit in brevi hoc mare magnum et spatiosum, et, prospere navigans, attigit iam litus optatum atque ad portum tandem salutis applicuit. Stantes sunt iam pedes eius in atriis Ierusalem, et quem audieret in Ephrata, invento in campis silvae libenter adorat in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius. Ingressus est sanctam civitatem, sortitus est cum illis hereditatem, quibus merito dicitur: IAM NON ESTIS HOSPITES ET ADVENAE, SED ESTIS CIVES SANCTORUM ET DOMESTICI DEI (Eph 2.19). Cum quibus intrans et exiens, tamquam unus e sanctis, gloriatur et ipse cum ceteris dicens: CONVERSATIO NOSTRA IN CAELIS EST (Phil 3.20). Factus est ergo non curiosus tantum spectator, sed devotus habitator et civis conscriptus Ierusalem, non autem terrenae huius, cui Arabiae mons Sina coniunctus est, quae servit cum filiis suis, sed liberae illius, quae est sursum mater nostra. Et si vultis scire, Claravallis est. Ipsa est Ierusalem, ei quae in caelis est, tota mentis devotione, et conversationis imitatione, et cognatione quadam spiritus sociata. Haec requies illius, sicut ipse promittit, in saeculum saeculi: elegit eam in habitationem sibi, quod apud eam sit, etsi nondum visio, certe exspectatio verae pacis […]" Ep 64.1–2; Winkler II: 554–556. James's translation, 91. Bernard's letter accords with his general accentuation of the Cistercian *stabilitas loci* but is also in accordance with a general objection to peregrination by monks, Constable 1977.

[50] "Quam dulce est peregrinis, post multam longi itineris fatigationem, post plurima terrae marisque pericula, ibi tandem quiescere, ubi et agnoscunt suum Dominum quievisse!" Tpl XI.29; Winkler I: 314. Greenia's translation, 162. *Peregrinus* may also mean "pilgrim" and "crusader".

pilgrimage, the Holy Sepulchre. And then finally, the passage bears the implication that these *peregrini* have journeyed through the perilous and demonic alienation of terrestrial life but now they are, almost, at home, and if they die—rest as Christ rested—they will transcend into the heavenly homeland. This concords with the beginning of Tpl which states of the Templar that "Should he be killed himself, we know that he has not perished, but has come safely into port."[51] But back to Philip.

Ep 64 displays one aspect of the monastic position within soteriological topography. This is not the only side to it. Other texts point to monks steeped in post-lapsarian alienation, and yet others to the paradisiacal rather than the celestial affiliation. In this letter, however, it is the anticipatory character which is highlighted; the ways in which Clairvaux is more of Jerusalem than the Jerusalem that the bishop had allowed his canon to seek. This passage points to the tension between the geographical Jerusalem, the anticipatory Jerusalem of the monastery, and the celestial Jerusalem. Whereas for secular people, the journey to Jerusalem may promote the interior progression towards the celestial Jerusalem, the monks have basically exchanged terrestrial geography for the spiritual topography navigated within the monastery.

Philip's journey has brought him where he wanted to go; this was not the terrestrial Jerusalem, as Alexander and indeed Philip himself might have expected at first, but the celestial. And he has been brought there, traversing the wide sea *in brevi*, in one of the short-cuts so dear to Bernard; speedy transitions which mark a graceful contrast to the lengthy spiritual battles fought along God's way—and indeed to the long and laborious journey of the crusaders.[52] As citizen through and through he now settles, bent on remaining for ever in this place of rest. This is more than an instance of *stabilitas loci*. The *peregrinus* has reached his goal, his journey has come to a halt, and he is now a *civis*— of Clairvaux, but also, by way of anticipation, of the celestial Jerusalem. In the letter Bernard projects onto the monastery the co-citizenship

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[51] "Cum autem occiditur ipse, non periisse, sed pervenisse cognoscitur." Tpl III.4; Winkler I: 276. Greenia's translation, 134.

[52] Other instances are Prayer in Par II.6, arriving at the new Jerusalem *in ictu oculi*, the good thief in Ep 8.2 crossing from the region of unlikeness to the land of the living *uno eodemque die*, the good thief in Palm 1.2, Abraham's fast run along the road of obedience in his readiness to sacrifice Isaac in Div 41.2, and the short-cut of those choosing monastic profession in Div 93.2.

with the saints which is elsewhere, as we shall see, ascribed to beatitude; he also, however, leaves a door open to the eventual fulfilment. The definition of Philip's previous state as that of a *curiosus spectator* perhaps mirrors the patriarchs of Heb 11.13 *aspicientes* the homeland from afar.[53]

The proto-Jerusalemite mark is only one aspect of the connotative charge of the monastery. As we saw in the previous chapter, when looking at Sept 1 and SC 33, it is also irrevocably steeped in terrestrial corporeality. This aspect is, however, played down in the address to Bishop Alexander. Ps 131 runs as a *leitmotif* through the letter. It lends the wording to the passage about Philip who has now found in the woodland plains (of Clairvaux, presumably) what he had heard about in Ephrathah (Lincoln, perchance). It is also the pretext of Philip's concluding promise, echoing Ps 131.13–14.[54] The analogy is no trifle. Psalm 131 represents the endeavours to find a resting place for the Lord, concluding with the Lord taking up residence in Jerusalem forever. We may ponder the extent to which the biblical context spills over into the Bernardine text. Is this just a matter of Jerusalem and dwelling, or does the divine note resound as well? Attempts to pin down more specifically the semantic correlation between the psalm and the letter remain utter speculation. Does the introduction of the psalm for instance stage Philip's settling in the Jerusalem of Clairvaux as an *imitatio Christi*? Is there, further, a message for Alexander in the letter that "just as you did it to one of the least of my family, you did it to me" (Mt 25.40)?[55]

Be that as it may, Philip has skipped the *tabernaculum* and moved directly to the *atrium*. Just as he has skipped the terrestrial, literal version of Jerusalem for the celestial. His change of itinerary therefore, as Bernard implies, mirrors the interpretative trajectory of Gal 4.21–26.

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[53] It is later to be echoed in a characterization of Malachy: "[…] nor did he loiter in the road as a curious onlooker forgetting his peregrination." ("[…] nec curiosus spectator in via substitit, propriae peregrinationis oblitus.") Mal 6; Winkler VIII: 912.

[54] NRSV (Ps 132.13–14): "For the Lord has chosen Zion for his habitation: This is my resting place forever; here I will reside, for I have desired it.".; Vulgate: "quoniam elegit Dominus Sion elegit eam in habitationem sibi haec requies mea in saeculum saeculi hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam".

[55] The phrase "quamdiu fecistis uni de his fratribus meis minimis mihi fecistis" plays no small role in Bernard's epistolary strategy, Ep 119, 242.2, 359, and 384.

5. *Text II: Quad 6 and the stages of alienation*

But the transition from *peregrinus* to *civis* is seldom as smooth as that of Philip as described to his bishop. Quad 6.1 gives us a triptych of classes; the *peregrinus*, the dead, and the crucified:

> 'Beloved, I urge you as aliens and exiles to abstain from the desires of the flesh' (2 Pet 2.11). Happy are those who in the present worthless age show themselves as strangers and pilgrims, perfectly clean guarding themselves from it! 'For here we have no lasting city, but we are looking for a future one' (Heb 13.14). Therefore, let us abstain from the desires of the flesh that wage war against the soul, just like strangers and pilgrims. If only the pilgrim walks along the royal way, he turns neither to the right nor to the left. Perhaps he sees [people] quarrelling, he does not turn towards them, if [he sees] a wedding party or somebody performing a dance or doing something else, he still passes by because he is a pilgrim who does not concern himself with things like that. He longs for his homeland, for the homeland he reaches. If he has food and clothing he will not burden himself with other things. Certainly, blessed is he who thus acknowledges this and thus laments his alienation, saying to God, 'For I am your passing guest, an alien like all my forebears' (Ps 38.13).[56]

This passage shows the alienation from alienation as the primary response to the recognition of man's exile on earth. The *peregrinus* is completely uninterested in the world bustling around him. But he does, after all, mingle with the *cives* of society. And he may, Bernard muses, after all delight in seeing what is going on, hearing it from others, or even narrating to others what he has seen.

> Through this and other things of the same kind he is, if not retained, then at least detained and delayed, so that he is less mindful of his homeland and accelerates with a lesser desire. He may also be delighted

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[56] "Obsecramus vos tamquam advenas et peregrinos abstinere vos a carnalibus desideriis (1 Pet 2.11). Felices qui se praesenti saeculo nequam advenas et peregrinos exhibent, immaculatos se custodientes ab eo! Neque enim habemus hic manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquiramus (Heb 13.14). Abstineamus igitur a carnalibus desideriis, quae militant adversus animam, tamquam advenae et peregrini. Peregrinus siquidem via regia incedit: non declinat ad dexteram neque ad sinistram. Si forte iurgantes viderit, non attendit; si nubentes aut choros ducentes, aut aliud quodlibet facientes, nihilominus transit, quia peregrinus est et non pertinet ad eum de talibus. Ad patriam suspirat, ad patriam tendit: victum et vestitum habens, non vult aliis onerari. Beatus plane, qui suum sic agnoscit, sic deplorat incolatum, dicens Domino: Quoniam advena ego sum apud te et peregrinus, sicut omnes patres mei (Ps 38.13)." Quad 6.1; Winkler VII: 490–492.

> by this so very much that he then not only lingers and arrives less quickly,
> but even remains entirely, and does not arrive, even late.[57]

With this peculiar phrasing Bernard depicts the stagnation of the pilgrim who loses focus. At a first glance, it seems as if both the sentence and the *peregrinus* are advancing—but eventually it becomes clear that both of them are only circling, at last winding themselves into a standstill. This is the exact opposite of the purposeful wayfaring along *via regia*. So although the sermon was launched on a positive note with regard to the ability of the *peregrinus* to keep to *via regia*, its second passage is less unwavering, "Who, then, is more alienated from the activities of this world than the *peregrinus*?" (*Quis igitur est magis alienus ab actibus saeculi quam peregrinus?*). The answer soon appears: he who is dead is less prone to be distracted. Indeed, this step is great (*Magnus omnino gradus est iste*) and sounds the joyous conclusion to the second paragraph … But perhaps one may find a step that is even more superior? (*At fortasse poterit aliquid adhuc superius inveniri*). The third paragraph presses on. He who is crucified to the world is not bound by it but crucified for it. The crucified views anything to which the world clings as his cross and adheres to that which seems a cross to the world (*crux illi est omne cui mundus inhaeret, et his adhaeret quae mundo crux esse videntur*).

The sermon closes with an exhortation to identify the "You are here" mark: "Let each of us ponder in which stage he is positioned and devote himself to making progress from day to day, because 'from virtue to virtue will the God of gods be seen in Zion' (Ps 83.8)".[58] The soldiers of Christ must constantly keep themselves ready for battle. So that when, once (*semel*) the army is gathered, they must be found worthy of being counted in its ranks: "Blessed be you who deserve to be part of the household, of whom the apostle says: 'So then you are no longer strangers and aliens, but you are citizens with the saints and also members of the household of God' (Eph 2.19)."[59] Until this day,

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[57] "[…] his et huiusmodi, etsi non penitus retinetur, detinetur tamen et retardatur, dum minus memor patriae, minori accelerat desiderio. Nam et tantopere potest in his delectari, ut iam non solum remoretur, et minus cito veniat, sed et remanens ex toto, nec tarde quidem perveniat." Quad 6.1; Winkler VII: 492.

[58] "Pensemus singuli in quo gradu quisque sit positus, et studeamus proficere de die in diem, quoniam DE VIRTUTE IN VIRTUTEM VIDEBITUR DEUS DEORUM IN SION (Ps 83.8)." Quad 6.4; Winkler VII: 494.

[59] "Felices vos, qui domestici meruistis esse, quibus dicit Apostolus: IAM NON ESTIS HOSPITES ET ADVENAE, SED ESTIS CIVES SANCTORUM ET DOMESTICI DEI (Eph 2.19)." Quad 6.4; Winkler VII: 496.

however, the battle is the circumstance under which the readers are left to work on their individual stage of estrangement, striving to alienate themselves more and more from terrestrial alienation.

The primary anthropological content related to the spiritual topography evolves around the condition of the *peregrinus*: he must acknowledge his state of alienation and avoid settling in terrestriality so that, as a *viator*, he may proceed towards his goal and eventually become a *civis* in his heavenly homeland.

MEMORY

The soteriological topography serves as a repository in which meaning is stored and retained. It may be navigated and explored. It is a means of recollecting virtues as well as vices—and of discarding the latter. In each of these features, it is associated with memory.

I. *Memory: Augustinian prolegomena*

In *Confessiones* book X, Augustine suggestively explores the fields and spacious halls of memory, (*campi* and *lata praetoria memoriae*), its dens and caverns (*antra* and *cavernae*)—even its interior place, which is not a place (*interioris locus, non locus*).[1] Not only is the locus of memory vast, it also has many and diverse dwelling places. Augustine suggestively depicts himself roaming in the cavernous archives, as it were, of memory in a slightly bewildered, impatient, and immersed search for messages once filed there. He admits to being overcome partly with the independent ways of memory, partly with its range and imaginative powers.

He goes on to draw up a list of the various items stored and the mechanisms of their storage and retrieval, musing upon the relation between that which is stored in memory and that which is remembered, for instance: "What shall I say when it is certain to me that I remember forgetfulness? Shall I say that what I recall is not in my memory? Or shall I say that forgetfulness is in my memory for this very purpose that I should not be forgetful?"[2] And further:

> If, then, memory holds forgetfulness not through itself but through its image, forgetfulness must itself have been present for its image to be

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[1] Augustine, *Confessiones* X.8.12–15, 161–163; X.17.26, 168, and X.9.16, 163.

[2] "Quid enim dicturus sum, quando mihi certum est meminisse me obliuionem? An dicturus sum non esse in memoria mea quod memini? An dicturus sum ad hoc inesse obliuionem in memoria mea, ut non obliuiscar?" *Confessiones* X.16.25, 168. Chadwick's translation, 193.

registered. But when it was present, how did it inscribe its image upon the memory, when, by its very presence, forgetfulness deletes whatever it finds already there?[3]

Augustine explains how sensory impressions are filed (*reponuntur*) by means of traces through imagery, whereas the liberal sciences are filed as themselves. Further categories imply memorials related to the nature of a thing which has been stored neither through sensory impressions nor teaching: thus principles of numbers which have been learned, and finally emotions, which may be remembered separately from their original impact, so that sadness may be recollected in a joyful mood. Each of these may, *mirabiliter*, be brought out through recollection (*recordando proferuntur*). The explorations eventually lead to the climactic exclamation:

> See how widely I have ranged, Lord, searching for you in my memory. I have not found you outside it. For I have found nothing coming from you which I have not stored in my memory since the time I first learned of you […] But where in my consciousness, Lord, do you dwell? Where in it do you make your home?[4]

II. *Bernardine memories*

In Bernard, memory is where imprints of man's disposition are made; those of God and those picked up by himself. Thus care must be taken to administer both the manner of imprints received and the fate of these imprints in memory. Is it also, as in Augustine, a place that may be roamed in search of God?

1. Plana memoriae

To Bernard, *memoria* is, among other things, a topos of visibility. Things deposited in the memory are exhibited rather than stored away. Sin should be kept in recollection so that it may be held fast and purged.

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[3] "Si ergo per imaginem suam, non per se ipsam in memoria tenetur obliuio, ipsa utique aderat, ut eius imago caperetur. Cum autem adesset, quomodo imaginem suam in memoria conscribebat, quando id etiam, quod iam notatum inuenit, praesentia sua delet obliuio?" *Confessiones* X.16.25, 168. Chadwick's translation, 194.

[4] "Ecce quantum spatiatus sum in memoria mea quaerens te, domine, et non te inueni extra eam. Neque enim aliquid de te inueni, quod non meminissem, ex quo didici te." X.24.35, 174. "Sed ubi manes in memoria mea, domine, ubi illic manes?" X.25.36, 174. Chadwick's translation, 200.

This thought is expressed Sent III.71—concerning the clearing of sylvan sin by those who have withdrawn into the wilderness—already discussed in Chapter Two. Bernard there states that

> They do not, however, fling away the remnants by forgetting them. Instead they scatter across the expanses of their memory not only their own sins, but those of others—indeed, those of the entire world—and they ignite beneath them the fire of the Holy Spirit, conceived in heaven above.[5]

Memory, then, is a matter of visibility, display, and revelatory clarity, and is opposed to the absorbing annihilation of oblivion.

Bernard's spiritual topography is such a field of memory. It is a plane that offers locations for both vices and virtues to be spread out and regarded, kept in mind and retained; the topoi of Babylon and Egypt are ever present, and the evil associated with each of these should not be allowed to slip into oblivion. Compared to the more classical and refined *scriptorium*-imagery of *De conversione* to which we shall shortly turn, the *sententia* alludes to activity on a coarser scale: that of chopping, hauling, burning, and working on the land. In more than one sense, this text serves nicely as a point of departure for the exploration of memory in Bernard, pointing to the necessity of cultivating *memoria*. The passage may seem to prescribe a constant recollection of sin; but other texts explicitly warn against that.

2. *Memory and the soul's capacity for God*

No Bernardine text is specifically dedicated to the topic of memory. It is a theme which meanders through his work. One of the texts in which it appears is SC 11 on thanksgiving to God; for "nothing more appropriately represents on earth the state of life in the heavenly fatherland than spontaneity in this outpouring of praise."[6] Thanksgiving means contemplating God, so:

> [...] my advice to you, my friends, is to turn aside occasionally from troubled and anxious pondering on the paths you may be treading, and

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[5] "[...] peccatorum suorum silvam vetustam a terra cordis et corporis sui praecidentes, non per oblivionem proiciunt, sed super plana memoriae ea consternentes, nec solum sua, sed etiam aliena et totius mundi peccata, ignem Spiritus Sancti caelitus conceptum supponunt [...]" Sent III.71; Winkler IV: 470. Swietek's translation, 248.

[6] "[...] tum quia nihil ita proprie quemdam terris repraesentat caelestis habitationis statum, sicut alacritas laudantium Deum [...]" SC 11.I.1; Winkler V: 156–158. Walsh's translation, I: 69.

> to travel on smoother ways where the gifts of God are serenely savored, so that the thought of him may give breathing space to you whose consciences are perplexed.[7]

It is important to choose the memorial paths with care, "because the recollection of one's sins begets bitterness rather than pleasure."[8] But while man is unable to remember and recount (*recolere et recolligere*) each benefit bestowed by God, he should not let the thought of the great work of redemption slip from his memory (*a memoria recedat*). The memory of one's own vices must be balanced by the memory of Christ.

This leads to a meditation of the imperfection of the soul of man and its three parts, as Bernard evokes the soul's composition by the trinity of *ratio*, *voluntas*, and *memoria*. According to Bernard, the three elements are threatened in turn by fallacy in judgement, perturbation, and confusion through oblivion. They will be redeemed when God becomes the plenitude of light for reason, the multitude of peace for the will, and the continuation into eternity for the memory. This triple fulfilment is the beatifying trinity for which the presently miserable tripartite soul longs, and from which it has been exiled (*exsulat*).[9] In characteristically rich mode, Bernard presents the trinitarian character of the soul in an apparently schematic fashion, yet with an almost bustling doctrinal and spiritual wealth welling from each of the key concepts. We shall have to forgo most of it in this context, except for *memoria*. Memory is described primarily through indirect statements. The enemy of memory is oblivion which does not cause the annihilation of memory but its confusion. And the fulfilment of memory is not a complete present recollection but the eternal extension of memory—into the future, that is.

Needless to say, Bernard's trinity smacks of the Augustinian exposition of the Trinity, where memory is a component of the image of God in man alongside *intelligentia* and *voluntas*, specifically related to the Father but also to both Son and Spirit as well as to both *intelligentia* and *voluntas*.[10] Between them, Bernard and Augustine here evoke the

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[7] "Quamobrem suadeo vobis, amicis meis, reflectere interdum pedem a molesta et anxia recordatione viarum vestrarum, et evadere in itinera planiora serenioris memoriae beneficiorum Dei, ut qui in vobis confundimini, ipsius intuitu respiretis." SC 11.I.2; Winkler V: 158. Walsh's translation, I: 70. Walsh's translation blurs somewhat the moment of *memoria*.

[8] "[…] quia recordatio peccatorum amaritudinem facit, non iucunditatem." SC 11.I.1; Winkler V: 158. Walsh's translation, I: 69.

[9] SC 11.III.5; Winkler V: 162.

[10] Augustine, *De trinitate*, for instance X.11.18–12.19 and XV.7.11–12.

doctrine of the image and likeness of God in man, impressed in cre-
ation, lost or distorted in the Fall, capable of being restored through
divine grace. But Bernard here gives us a sermon not a treatise: he sev-
eral times turns over the issue of how God's benefits may be present
in memory, approaching it from new angles. The trinitarian aspect of
SC 11, and its promises of the future extension of memory into eter-
nity, also recall the temporal aspect so crucial in the relevant passages
of *Confessiones* X. Augustine starts from a concern with the memory's
present retention of things past, and moves on to consider the soul's
capacity for God in relation to memory. This side of memory is not
only associated with the present retrieval of things stored in the past,
but with the future extension of memory, the infinite restoration of that
which was stored in memory at Creation

In Div 45, the figure of tri-partition is employed in a somewhat
Janus-faced way.

> Further, the memory which—when it still stood—pondered the power of
> the undivided divinity, fell from him and dashed itself upon the rocks. It
> burst and broke into three parts; that is into instinctive, burdensome, and
> useless thoughts.[11]

These thoughts, which have replaced the memory turned towards God,
are concerned with respectively the necessities of eating and drinking,
the plights of administrations, and a galloping horse or a bird in flight.
Thus is the human memory occupied after the Fall. The concern
with the presentness of the past as well as that of the future has
been replaced entirely by thoughts pertaining to the presentness of the
present.

3. *The indigestion of the book of memory*

One Bernardine text has been accorded particular attention with re-
gard to memory. *Ad clericos de conversione* explores the nature of memory
via a conspicuous clash of the metaphorical figures of book and stom-
ach. The beginning of the work contains a passage on *ratio* and *memoria*
as the soul. The book is the key figure here, first the Word of the Father
"[…] opens the book of the conscience, passes in review the wretched
sequence of life, unfolds the sad events of its history, enlightens the rea-

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[11] "Porro memoria, quae simplicis divinitatis potentiam stans cogitabat, ab illa ca-
dens et velut super saxa corruens, in tres partes confracta dissiliit, scilicet in cogitationes
affectuosas, onerosas, otiosas." Div 45.1; Winkler IX: 544–546.

son and, the memory having leafed is set, as it were, before its own eyes."[12] This is not a pretty sight. After a brief delight finished all too soon, the excitement of fornication, plundering, cruelty

> stamps on the memory bitter marks, it leaves filthy traces. Into that reservoir, as into a sewer, all these disgusting and dirty thoughts drizzle and run off. Weighty is the book wherein have been inscribed all these acts with the pen of truth.[13]

The noble halls and fields of Augustinian storage have been turned into a sewer contending with the classical image of memory as a book, only in this case a book with a somewhat sombre air. But the image is further elaborated and complicated. "The stomach now endures bitterness" ("Amarum iam venter tolerat").[14] The stomach of the memory is also a phrase employed by Augustine, if a little reluctantly:

> No doubt, then, memory is, as it were, the stomach of the mind, whereas gladness and sadness are like the sweet and bitter food. When they are entrusted to the memory, they are as if transferred to the stomach and can there be stored; but they cannot be tasted. It is ridiculous to think this illustration offers a real parallel; nevertheless, it is not wholly inapposite.[15]

Bernard, however, adopts the conception wholeheartedly as he diagnoses the effects of the accumulation of sin in the stomach of memory: an agony of (in the original) nearly-chiastic gravity; "Wretched man! my stomach aches, my stomach aches. How could the stomach of memory not ache, when it is crammed with so much muck?"[16] "Ventrem meum

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[12] "Aperitur siquidem conscientiae liber, revolvitur misera vitae series, tristis quaedam historia replicatur, illuminatur ratio, et evoluta memoria velut quibusdam eius oculis exhibetur." Conv II.3, Winkler IV: 156. Saïd's translation, 34. It seems that one or more words may perhaps have fallen out in the translation; the meaning implied is presumably that memory has been leafed through.

[13] "[…] sed amara quaedam impressit signa memoriae, sed vestigia foeda reliquit. In illud siquidem repositorium, velut in sentinam aliquam, tota decurrit abominatio, immunditia tota defluxit. Volumen grande, cui universa inscripta sunt, stilo utique veritatis." Conv III.4; Winkler IV: 160. Saïd's translation, 35.

[14] Conv III.4; Winkler IV: 160.

[15] "Nimirum ergo memoria quasi uenter est animi, laetitia uero atque tristitia quasi cibus dulcis et amarus: cum memoriae commendantur, quasi traiecta in uentrem recondi illic possunt, sapere non possunt. Ridiculum est haec illis similia putare, nec tamen sunt omni modo dissimilia." Augustine, *Confessiones* X.14.21, 166. Chadwick's translation, 191.

[16] "Ventrem meum doleo, miser, doleo ventrem meum. Quidni doleam ventrem memoriae, ubi tanta congesta est putredo?" Conv III.4; Winkler IV: 160. Saïd's translation, 35.

doleo, miser, doleo ventrem meum," the abbot exclaims. Geoffrey of Auxerre's suggestive depiction of Bernard's own digestive difficulties lends itself to a treacherous biographical association. The pain may be Bernard's, but the phrasing is from Jer 4.19 ("ventrem meum ventrem meum doleo"); and the indigestion of memory is a recurrent topos from Jerome onwards.

In her seminal examination of crafts and skills of monastic memory including those implied in this Bernardine text, Carruthers brushes aside the passage from Jeremiah as a "conventional text".[17] It does indeed recur, both in other authors and, for instance, in SC 36.4, where it is employed in the description of the consequences of another clogging of the *memoria*—that of too much knowledge, which blocks the memory if it is not properly cooked by charity. The question remains, of course, to what extent frequent appearance makes such passages conventional in any sense of the word. It may be suggested that this is yet another occurrence of Bernard speaking "biblique", of his ruminating commitment of biblical passages into experiential storage.

De conversione's graphic image of digestive troubles is not passed over lightly; if somebody saw his clothes, Bernard continues, smeared with repulsive spew and the filthiest of filth, would he not rip them off vehemently? But the soul cannot pull itself off, however smudged the memory. The clogged and defiled memory is then left cliff hanging while Bernard proceeds to the body, the will, and a range of other significant topics. But it is not allowed to slip into oblivion. In the passage about the soul's consideration of itself, a tableau is presented of *memoria* viewed through the eyes of reason. *Memoria* is here presented as completely soiled, with an abundance of filth flowing into it from all sides, with the windows to death gaping and unable to close.

Only many pages later does Bernard retrieve the thread and approach the purgation of this soiled memory. He does so with an elaboration of the inscription-metaphor, drawing on the archetypical conception of memory as a wax tablet or *vellum* inscribed with signs.[18] Not only is memory here described as a sheet of cheap and thin paper (*vilis et tenuis*), it also assumes the properties of such paper, its substance is frail and absorbent. The almost dead metaphor of memory as a book is thus brought to life; its features transformed. The question now is, what is to be done with this paper drenched with ink?

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[17] Carruthers 1998, 95.
[18] Carruthers 1990, e.g. 16.

> It is useless for me to attempt to rub it out: the skin will be torn before the wretched characters have been effaced. Forgetfulness might perhaps efface the memory if, for example, I were touched in the head and did not remember what I had done. But to leave my memory intact and yet wash away its blotches, what penknife can I use? Only that living and effective word sharper than a two-edged sword: 'Your sins are forgiven you.'[19]

By forgiving sin, God ensures that sin no longer stains the memory: "His forbearance wipes away sin, not by cutting it out of the memory, but by leaving in the memory what was there causing discoloration, and blanching it thoroughly."[20] This passage ends on the same note as SC 11: once the damnation, the fear, and the confusion have thus been purged from memory, so that they may be counted among the benefits, thanksgiving may be rendered to he who forgave them.[21]

4. *Storage in memory*

The Bernardine constipation of memory is in contrast to the smooth peristaltics of the *ruminatio* depicted by William of Saint-Thierry, who writes to the Carthusians at Mont-Dieu:

> Then one must engage in specific readings at specific times. For casual and diverse reading, as if decided on by accident, does not edify but renders the soul fickle, and as it has been received easily into the memory, it slips from it even more easily.[22]

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[19] "Frustra conarer eradere: ante scinditur charta quam caracteres miseri deleantur. Ipsam enim forte memoriam delere posset oblivio, ut videlicet, mente captus, eorum non meminerim, quae commisi. Ceterum, ut memoria integra maneat et ipsius maculae diluantur, quae novacula possit efficere? Solus utique sermo vivus et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti: DIMITTUNTUR TIBI PECCATA TUA (Mk 2.5)." Conv XV.28; Winkler IV: 216. Saïd's translation, 64.

[20] "Huius indulgentia delet peccatum, non quidem ut a memoria excidat, sed ut quod prius inesse pariter et inficere consuevisset, sic de cetero insit memoriae, ut eam nullatenus decoloret." Conv XV.28; Winkler IV: 216. Saïd's translation, 64.

[21] Unsurprisingly, *Vita Prima* is careful to state that Bernard himself did not commend sensory impressions to memory: "He was completely absorbed in the spirit, his entire hope was directed to God and his whole memory was occupied by spiritual concentration or reflection; while seeing he did not see, while hearing he did not hear […]" ("[…] totusque absorptus in spiritum, spe tota in Deum directa, intentione seu meditatione spirituali tota occupata memoria, videns non videbat, audiens non audiebat […]") *Vita Prima* 1.4.20, PL 185.238.

[22] "Deinde etiam certis horis certae lectioni vacandum est. Fortuita enim et varia lectio, et quasi casu reperta, non aedificat, sed reddit animum instabilem, et, leviter admissa, levius recedit a memoria." William of Saint-Thierry, *Epistula ad Fratres de Monte-Dei* 120, 238.

For

> You will never enter the meaning of Paul if you do not imbibe his spirit
> by means of your good intentions when reading him and your assiduous
> zeal when meditating upon him. And you will never understand David if
> you do not in your own experience assume the affections of the psalms.[23]

Therefore,

> But from that daily reading one must daily commit something to the
> stomach of memory which may be more faithfully digested and recalled
> back up to be frequently ruminated […][24]

Bernard also addresses the storing of the word of God, but prescribes a
storage which surpasses what is here considered the mere accumulation
in memory:

> Does it suffice just to keep it in memory? Of those who keep it thus, the
> apostle says that knowledge puffs up.[25] Finally, oblivion easily destroys
> memory. Keep the word of God as you may best keep the nourishment
> of your body. For it is also living bread and nourishment for the spirit.
> Terrestrial bread, when put in a box, may be stolen by a thief, eaten by
> a mouse, or spoilt when it becomes too old. But if you eat it, which of
> these [threats] do you then fear? So guard the word of God in that way:
> blessed are those who guard it. Thus transfer it into the innermost part
> of your soul so that it may pass into your affections and your character.[26]

Elsewhere, however, rumination and storage in memory are conjunct.
This goes for instance for the recollective tour of Div 42, in which five
regions are visited in order to ruminate and store in memory the goods
that may be purchased in each of the five regional markets. "These
goods my soul ruminates with the utmost delight, but not only does she

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[23] "Numquam ingredieris in sensum Pauli, donec usu bonae intentionis in lectione ejus, et studio assiduae meditationis, spiritum ejus imbiberis. Numquam intelliges David, donec ipsa experientia ipsos psalmorum affectus indueris." William of Saint-Thierry, *Epistula ad Fratres de Monte-Dei* 121, 238.

[24] "Sed et de cotidiana lectione aliquid cotidie in ventrum memoriae demittendum est, quod fidelius digeratur, et sursum revocatum crebrius ruminetur […]" William of Saint-Thierry, *Epistula ad Fratres de Monte-Dei* 122, 240. See also Coleman 1992, 176.

[25] Cf. 1 Cor 8.1.

[26] "An sufficit sola eos servare memoria? At vero sic servanti dicet Apostolus quoniam scientia inflat. Denique et memoriam facile delet oblivio. Sic serva sermonem Dei, quomodo melius servare potes cibum corporis tui. Nam et ille panis vivus est, et cibus mentis. Panis terrenus, dum in arca est, potest a fure tolli, potest a mure corrodi, potest vetustate corrumpi. Ubi vero comederis illum, quid horum times? Hoc modo custodi verbum Dei: Beati enim qui custodiunt illud (Lk 11.28). Ergo traiciatur in viscera quaedam animae tuae; transeat in affectiones tuas et in mores tuos." Adv 5.2; Winkler VII: 114.

ruminate them, she also recalls your rumination, understanding what she loves, and commits to her memory what she has chosen."[27]

The contemplation of Christ and its anticipation of beatitude also take place in memory. Bernard says of the peregrinating Church:

> Her expectation, founded on the death of Christ, is joyful and undoubting. Why be overawed at the greatness of the reward when she ponders the worthiness of the ransom? How gladly she visits in her mind those clefts through which the ransom of his sacred blood flowed upon her! How gladly she explores the crannies, the refreshing retreats and rooms, which are so many and so diverse in the Father's house, in which he sets up his sons according to the diversity of their merits! But for the moment she does the one thing meanwhile possible, she reposes there in memory, entering now in spirit into the heavenly dwelling that is above. But in time she will fill up those ruins and dwell in those crannies both in body and mind.[28]

5. *Recoding of memory*

The clogging of memory is sometimes not even remedied by attempts at purging through confession. Div 40 treats confession and obedience, once again rehearsing the role played by forgiveness of sins for the well-being of memory:

> We know of several in whom we experienced that when they came for the grace of confession, they were burdened by sin rather than liberated from it, when they went back to their conscience. For they relate those things which they have accomplished, if they are clerics in a literary encounter, if they are soldiers in a military encounter, and thus are wearing pride under the cloak of humility. And thus they are condemned in this confession in which the whole human salvation lies.[29]

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[27] "Haec mercimonia cum summa suavitate ruminat anima mea. Non solum autem ruminat, sed et revocat ruminationem tuam, quia et intelligit quae diligit, et memoriae commendat quae elegit." Div 42.1; Winkler IX: 532.

[28] "Expectatio laeta nec dubia, quae Christi morte firmata est. Cur paveat ad praemii magnitudinem, quae pretii dignitatem considerat? Quam libens mente invisit foramina, per quae sibi sacrosancti sanguinis pretium fluxit! Quam libens cavernas perambulat, et diversoria et mansiones, quae sunt in domo Patris multae atque diversae, in quibus habet collocare filios suos pro quorumque diversitate meritorum! Et nunc quidem, quod solum interim potest, sola in his memoria requiescit, caeleste habitaculum, quod desursum est, iam animo induens. Erit autem cum implebit ruinas, cum cavernas et corpore inhabitabit et mente [...]" SC 62.I.1; Winkler VI: 324. Walsh's translation, II: 150–151.

[29] "Novimus plerosque et experti sumus qui ad confessionis gratiam venientes, magis onerati quam liberati a peccatis, ad suam conscientiam redierunt. Dicunt enim, si clerici, ea quae litterario, si milites, ea quae gladiatorio gessere conflictu, ut sub humil-

But clerics and soldiers alike must "show and uncover what tears the heart apart, lay bare the wound in order to feel the work of the doctor."[30] This passage does not imply that the whole set of experiences from monks' earlier experiences as soldiers, for instance, or clerics, should be obliterated on monastic profession. The prior experiences are not discarded but recycled, as it were, as described by Coleman:

> Men with private histories, of love, sex, marriage, knightly warfare, involvement in the world, memorised biblical texts which were detailed and symbolic concerning human and divine relationships, but which mentioned love only as a means of spiritual union of God with his people. On the basis of these spiritualised experiences, men with private pasts learned to evoke from the store house of their altered memories texts and symbols whose literal sense was perhaps sensual, but whose overriding meanings were allegorised so that they were able to think of and derive pleasure from quite different realities of which the biblical images were symbols.[31]

According to Coleman, Bernard's sermons stimulate the memory "by replacing private memorials with scriptural reminiscences."[32] Memory is mediation between past and present—not only a matter of going backwards but indeed of establishing the presentness of the past. For Bernard, it is vital that the past is present in the right way. That is, as an experience phrased in biblical vein.

6. *Oblivion*

Fighting oblivion is a vital monastic demand, in the words of *Regula Benedicti*: "The first step of humility, then, is that a man keeps the fear of God always before his eyes and shuns oblivion. He must constantly remember everything God has commanded […]".[33] According

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itatis pallio superbiam inducant, in tanto se signaculo condemnantes, sub quo totius humanae salutis summa consistit." Div 40.6; Winkler IX: 498.

[30] "Ostende et denuda quaecumque cor tuum dilaniant; detege vulnus, ut sentias operam medicantis." Div 40.6; Winkler IX: 500.

[31] Coleman 1992, 175. See also McGinn 1995, 491, note 72 for references to Bernardine texts on the redirection of carnal love.

[32] Coleman 1992, 191.

[33] "Primus itaque humilitatis gradus est si, *timorem Dei* sibi *ante oculos* (Ps 35.2) semper ponens, oblivionem omnino fugiat et semper sit memor omnia quae praecepit Deus […]" *Regula Benedicti* 7.10–11, 192. Fry's translation, 193, apart from *oblivionem omnino fugiat* which Fry renders "and never forgets it", that is the fear of God. See also Pranger 1994, 87–91.

to Bernard's Sent II.19, oblivion is the death of the soul. More specifically, it is the death of the senses of the soul which will be roused as follows: the soul will feel through memory, hear through obedience, see through understanding, smell through consideration, and taste through love.[34] To be oblivious is to have numbed senses and thus to be beyond reach. Or even to be in hell: *terra oblivionis, terra afflictionis*.[35] Bernard speaks suggestively about its burning fire, immortal worm, and intolerable smell (*ignis ardens, vermis immortalis, foetor intolerabilis*); "All of me trembles and shudders at the memory of this region."[36] The soul's oblivion of itself is the negation of the "know yourself" as created in the image and likeness of God. This oblivion turns into the *regio longinqua* of the prodigal son (Conv IV.5). Oblivion is annihilation of that which associates man with God.

Nevertheless an urge to forget resounds in Bernard's frequent echoes of the words of Phil 3.13: "but this one thing I do: forgetting what lies behind and straining forward to what lies ahead".[37] This is, for instance, the goal of the spiritual exercises of Div 16.6. Forgetting and remembering in the right measure is alpha and omega:

> Not the whole tribe of Manasseh crosses Jordan, but nor does the whole tribe choose a home on this side. There are those who forget God their creator and those who always hold him in view, forgetting their people and their father's house. And some forget the celestial while others forget what is on earth, that one forgets the present whereas this one forgets the future, that one what is seen, this what is not seen, and finally that one what is his own, this one what belongs to Jesus Christ. Each part of the tribe of Manasseh is forgetful, but one part has forgotten Jerusalem, the other Babylon […][38]

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[34] Sent II.19; Winkler IV: 310.

[35] Div 42.6; Winkler IX: 538.

[36] "Totus tremo atque horreo ad memoriam istius regionis […]" Div 42.6; Winkler IX: 538.

[37] Vulgate: "unum autem quae quidem retro sunt obliviscens ad ea vero quae sunt in priora extendens me".

[38] "Neque enim totus Manasses Iordanem transit, sed nec totus citra sibi eligit mansionem. Est qui oblitus est Domini creatoris sui, et est qui providet eum in conspectu suo semper, oblitus populum suum et domum patris sui. Et ille quidem caelestia obliviscitur, hic vero quae sunt super terram: iste praesentia, ille futura; iste quae videntur, ille quae non videntur; postremo iste quae sua sunt, ille quae Iesu Christi. Uterque Manasses, uterque obliviosus; sed alter quidem Ierusalem, alter Babylonis oblitus […]" V Nat 6.8; Winkler VII: 216. The passage expounds the division of Canaan among the Israelites, Num 32–32 and Josh 14–22, notably Josh 22.7 on Manasseh settling on both sides of Jordan.

So Babylon should be forgotten and only Jerusalem remembered. But, in Pranger's words:

> The enclosed shape of Bernard's monastery excludes the extra-mural world, thereby intensifying the latter's contours and dimensions. Thus monastic oblivion seems to boil down to a heightened sense of what is about to be forgotten. This intensification by means of exclusion applies not only to the secular world at large but also to extra-mural religious space and time.[39]

In terms of spiritual topography, Babylon is unforgettable. Not least Bernard's own texts cling to this topos. It is perpetually recalled as that which is to be forgotten and ever implied in the topos of Jerusalem which thrives on its difference from it. So while often indicating a course as purposeful and straight as the *via regia* and its obliteration of things past, Bernard also strikes other chords. One is that of the blanching rather than effacing of memory. Another is the recurrent retention of topoi of sin and carnality. Babylon and Egypt must be forgotten—over and over again.

7. *In search of the bridegroom*

SC 31–33 expound Song 1.6, "Tell me whom my soul loves where you pasture your flock, where you lie down at noon" ("Indica mihi quem diligit anima mea ubi pascas ubi cubes in meridie"). In the three sermons, Bernard exerts himself to follow the bridegroom into the peace of his pastures but recurrently experiences a repercussion into much lowlier regions. SC 32 is particularly concerned with the ways in which Christ appears in different guises to souls of different dispositions. First those who "grow weary of studying spiritual doctrine and become lukewarm, when their spiritual energies are drained away, then they walk in sadness along the ways of the Lord."[40] These Christ meets with encouragement and promises:

> If when we are subject to these moods, the compassionate Lord draws near to us on the way we are traveling, and being from heaven begins to talk to us about heavenly truths, sings our favourite air from among the songs of Sion, discourses on the city of God, on the peace of that city, on the eternity of that peace and on the life that is eternal, I assure you that

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[39] Pranger 1994, 128.

[40] "Sunt qui in studiis spiritualibus fatigati, et versi in tepore, atque in defectu quodam spiritus positi, ambulant tristes vias Domini […]" SC 32.II.4; Winkler V: 504. Walsh's translation, II: 136.

> this happy discourse will bear along as in a carriage the man who has grown tired and listless […][41]

Christ has other things in store for those who with magnanimous courage, liberty of spirit, and purity of conscience are great in their eagerness to penetrate what is more secret and seize what is more sublime (*secretiora penetrare, apprehendere sublimiora*):

> To great men like these the Bridegroom will come in his greatness; he will perform mighty deeds with them, sending out his light and his truth, leading them on and directing them to his holy mountain and the tent where he dwells. Any one of these men can say: 'He who is mighty has done great things for me.' His eyes will see the king in his beauty going before him into the beautiful places of the desert, to the flowering roses and lilies of the valley, to gardens where delights abound and streams run from the fountains, where storerooms are filled with delightful things and the odors of perfume, till last of all he makes his way to the privacy of the bedchamber.[42]

In others words, Christ evokes two quite distinct topographical settings for these two groups of uneven spiritual capability. It may be argued that the devices of Christ are not so very different from those of Bernard. On the one hand, there are those labouring with ascetic alienation from carnal dispositions which need both stick and spur; the broad majority, that is, of the monastic community. To these the abbot depicts in suggestive detail the celestial goal so distant from their earthly Babylon and yet within future reach. These are the addressees of "Inter Babylonem et Ierusalem nulla est pax, sed guerra continua" of Par II, the mission of Prayer to the celestial Jerusalem, and the eventual restoration of the Jerusalemites within the triumphant peace of the castle of Justice.

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[41] "Ergo ubi contingit tale aliquid pati, si misertus Dominus appropiet nobis in via qua ambulamus, et incipiat loqui de caelo qui de caelo est, necnon favorabile quippiam cantare nobis de canticis Sion, narrare etiam de civitate Dei, de pace civitatis, de aeternitate pacis, de statu aeternitatis: dico vobis, erit pro vehiculo animae dormitanti et pigritanti laeta narratio […]" SC 32.II.4; Winkler V: 504. Walsh's translation, II: 137.

[42] "Igitur istiusmodi magnis spiritibus magnus occurret sponsus, et magnificabit facere cum eis, emittens lucem suam et veritatem suam, eosque deducens et adducens in montem sanctum suum et in tabernacula sua, ita ut dicat qui eiusmodi est: Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est (Lk 1.49). Regem in decore suo videbunt oculi eius, praeeuntem se ad speciosa deserti, ad flores rosarum et lilia convallium, ad amoena hortorum et irrigua fontium, ad delicias cellariorum et odoramenta aromatum, postremo ad ipsa secreta cubiculi." SC 32.IV.9; Winkler V: 512. Walsh's translation, II: 141–142.

On the other hand, there are the fervent few; those of a spiritual quality on a par with Moses, David, and Thomas. To these, Bernard shows in SC 32, Christ reveals quite another landscape of undeterred delights leading them through one beautiful setting after the other until they eventually find themselves in the *cubiculum*. The searching for the bridegroom within the topography of Song is the sophisticated development of the searching for peace and security amongst Babylonian armies and castles of Justice in the parables. In a landscape, that is, which is a parabolic expression of the search for God in the soul.

But neither of the groups is allowed to forget its current position. In SC 33, as mentioned, the viewpoint oscillates between the turmoil of the present Babylon and the future bliss approached through memory:

> What can the bride do but yearn for that place of rest, of security, of exultation, of wonder, of overwhelming joy. But alas! unhappy me, far from it as I am, and saluting it from afar, the very memory of it causes me to weep with the affection expressed by those exiles: 'By the waters of Babylon, there we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion.'[43]

Bernard continues with a distinction between Babylon and the pasture and the lack of equivalence between what may be had in each of the places. He contrasts faith with vision, memory with presence, eternity with time, a face and its reflection, and the image of God and the condition of the slave (*fides et species, memoria et praesentia, aeternitas et tempus, vultus et speculum, imago Dei et forma servi*). The celestial Jerusalem is present in memory, but the memory is terrestrially incomplete compared with actual divine presence which is the beatific goal.

These two sermons add further nuances to the exposition of SC 11 on the importance of wandering in memory, not only along the troubled paths, but also where God, in the shape of the Redemption, may be found. Christ is sought in memory, in the landscapes imbibed during rumination. Eventually, memory is extended into eternity and the trace becomes the presence. Till that happens, man must navigate and cultivate a memory which is generative rather than reproductive.

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[43] "Merito sponsa illo suspirat, merito inhiat loco pascuae simul et pacis, sed quietis, sed securitatis, sed exsultationis, sed admirationis, sed stuporis. Nam et me miserum, heu! longe agentem, et de longe salutantem, en ipsa eius recordatio ad lacrimas provocat, plane iuxta affectionem et vocem dicentium: Super flumina Babylonis illic sedimus et flevimus, dum recordaremur Sion (Ps 136.1)." SC 33.II.2; Winkler V: 516–518. Walsh's translation, II: 145–146.

8. *Text: SC 23 and the realms of memory*

At first glance, the connection between memory and topography is alluringly evident. In rhetoric and mnemonics, *topos* refers to a physical location in the mind, and mnemonic schemes are aimed at securing access to this location.[44] Moreover, a specific branch of *ars memoriae* tackles the expediency of remembering specific things by recalling them as images on specific backgrounds. Even wide ranges of issues may be remembered when stored in memory in association with similar ranges of places such as a row of houses in a street. That is, the location ties in to the recollection of a given feature.[45]

   This association between place and memory gives rise to the question of whether the Egypts, gardens, and Jerusalems of Bernard's texts are mainly a mnemonic device. Certainly, there is a mnemotechnic and didactic quality to Bernard's mapping, a basic schematic structure recalling the Carolingian time maps aimed at being 'filled in' orally by the teacher as a mnemonic device for the pupils.[46] But Bernard's is not a fixed or stable grid. Let us return to SC 23, the sermon in which the reader follows the bride through the garden and the cellar to the chamber of her royal bridegroom discussed in Chapter One. This text apparently concludes on a mnemotechnical note:

> This sermon has been so protracted that for your memory's sake I must summarize briefly what I have said about the storeroom, the garden, the bedroom. Remember the three divisions of time, three kinds of merit and three rewards. The times are connected with the garden, the merits with the storeroom, the reward with the threefold contemplation of one who seeks the bedroom.[47]

In SC 23, however, there is a tension between the conclusive mnemonic *voilà* and the body of the sermon. The sermon, in what amounts to thirteen printed pages, takes the audience through the different rooms, each with its distinct setting, following an intricate route through a rich

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[44] Carruthers 1990, 29.

[45] For instance the pseudo-Ciceronian *Ad Herennium* III.9.17–24.40; Cicero, *De Oratore* II.86–88, 462–472; and Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* XI.2.11–33.

[46] Kupfer 1994, 264.

[47] "Iam ut horum quae de cellario, horto, cubiculo, longiori sunt disputata sermone, memoria vestra compendium teneat, mementote trium temporum, trium meritorum, trium quasi praemiorum: in horto advertite tempora, merita in cellario, praemia in triplici illa contemplatione cubiculum inquirentis." SC 23.VI.17; Winkler V: 348. Walsh's translation, II: 41.

scenery revealing one complex vista after the other. The conclusion may hold a short cut, but this will not make up for the contemplative journey in its composite entirety. And with the references to the landscapes through which the bridegroom conducts the most fervent souls in mind, the introductory passage seems to contain more than a sensory stimulus of *ars memoriae*: "But first we ought to give thought to the meaning of these rooms. To begin with, let us imagine them to be perfume-laden places within the Bridegroom's quarters, where varied spices breathe their scents, where delights are manifold."[48] It seems that the spiritual exercise proposed by the sermon is not so much that of memorizing a range of stages but of conferring the set of homiletic implications on a *memoria* akin less to orderly halls of storage than to the absorbing paper or long-suffering stomach. The memory that these places are employed to evoke is not primarily that of times, merits, and rewards, but that of God in man.

We shall end with another landscape. This is the paradise of pleasure evoked in Conv XII–XIII as the culmination of the laborious process of estrangement from sin, but before the passage on the blanched memory. After the convert has learned to seek his help from above, he will lament his own misery and thus wash his eyes with tears,

> All this will enable him to peer through the keyhole, to look through the lattices and in sweet regard to follow the trail of that guiding ray, seeking light by the light, like some eager imitator of the Wise Men. […] he shall discover the paradise of pleasure planted by the Lord; he shall discover a flowering and thoroughly lovely garden; he shall discover a place of refreshment […][49]

Having elaborated on the delights of this place, Bernard continues by merging the landscapes of Song of Songs with a glimpse of the Garden of Eden (Gen 2):

> You must not suppose this paradise of inner pleasure is some material place; you enter this garden not on foot, but by deeply-felt affections. You will be enchanted not by a copse of earthly trees, but by gracious

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[48] "Verum de cellariis his quid sentiendum putamus? Cogitemus ea interim loca quaedam redolentia penes sponsum, plena odoramentis, referta deliciis." SC 23.I.1; Winkler V: 324. Walsh's translation, II: 25.

[49] "Ex hoc sane suspiciat per foramen, prospiciat per cancellos, praeducem radium pio sequatur obtutu, et Magorum sedulus imitator, lumen lumine quaerat. […] inveniet paradisum voluptatis plantatum a Domino; inveniet hortum floridum et amoenissum; inveniet refrigerii sedem […]" Conv XII.24; Winkler IV: 204. Saïd's translation, 58.

and seemly beds of spiritual virtues. A garden enclosed, where the sealed
fountain flows out into four streams, and from this single vein of wisdom
flows fourfold virtue.[50]

It may seem that this landscape is that of the eternal rest of beatitude,

> But these are not yet the rewards of eternal life, but only the wages paid
> for military service; they have nothing to do with the future promise
> made to the Church, but concern rather the present due. This is the
> hundredfold tendered already in this world to those who scorn the world.
> Do not hope to hear me sing the praises of all that. That is revealed
> through the spirit alone: you will consult books to no avail; you must try
> to experience it instead […] Not learning but anointing teaches it; not
> science but conscience grasps it.[51]

The paradise of delights and the insight achieved there is not found
in books or science but should rather be sought in experience[52] and
comprehended by conscience. The conscience that in Conv II.3 held
nothing but the sad story of a miserable life, and the experience that at
that point knew first and foremost of ephemeral pleasure surviving only
as bitter marks and foul stains in memory, are now indeed the location
of delightful landscapes of sensory wealth.

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[50] "Nec vero locum reputes corporalem paradisum hunc voluptatis internae. Non
pedibus in hunc hortum, sed affectibus introitur. Nec terrenarum tibi commendatur
arborum copia, sed virtutum utique spiritualium iucunda decoraque plantatio. Hortus
conclusus, ubi fons signatur in quatuor capita derivatur, et ex una sapientiae vena virtus
quadripartita procedit." Conv XIII.25; Winkler IV: 206–208. Saïd's translation, 59–60.

[51] "Quae quidem non inter vitae aeternae praemia, sed inter temporalis militiae
stipendia deputantur, nec ad futuram pertinent, sed ad eam magis, quae nunc est,
Ecclesiae promissionem. Hoc enim centuplum est, quod in hoc saeculo saeculi con-
temptoribus exhibetur. Nec tibi illud nostro speraveris eloquio commendandum. Solus
est Spiritus qui revelat: sine causa paginam consulis; experientiam magis require. […]
Non illud eruditio, sed unctio docet, nec scientia, sed conscientia comprehendit."
Conv XIII.25; Winkler IV: 208–210. Saïd's translation, 60–61.

[52] With a slight modification of Saïd's translation of "experientiam magis require".

CONCLUSION AND TRANSITION

The topographical underpinning of Bernard's *oeuvre* consolidates a re-
peating pattern in the texts; a degree of sameness allowing for, and
indeed promoting, moulding and differentiation. This textual repetition
is congenial to the repetitive pattern of fall, restoration, and relapse.
The topography stays the same but there are a variety of ways of going
from A to B and a wide array of keys and approaches in which to
describe the way, the travelling, the place A, and the place B. There is
exchange and interaction between a sense of immutability anchored in
the topographical scenario and a feeling of supple vitality and urgency
imparted by the deliberations on the ways in which to navigate this
topography. These two impetuses add up to an impression that all and
nothing at all is the same.

    Bernard's work circles around ascents and descents between heaven
and earth; those of Christ and those of man. This vertical dynamics is
never absent. In his concern with the human condition, however, he
frequently resorts to a representation implying a map, a horizontally
orientated plane. The basic thesis of this study is that in his work,
Bernard addresses this navigation through a number of different genres
within the broad categories of sermons, letters, and treatises. Some texts
and passages present themselves as full-bodied itineraries, describing
journeys in detail yet in quite different veins; this applies for instance
to *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* and the parables, to Div 42 and Ep
64. But the majority of texts depart from the *viator* outline and move
in a more complex and indirect way with regard to the journey, often
focusing on a quite specific aspect or section of it, which is explored
with linguistic and contemplative diligence, yet with the entire scenario
as a frame of resonance.

    These texts may be set in a variety of keys attuned to their context,
aim, and subject-matter. Some texts move along tragic lines, directing
the attention towards the discord of earthly existence and the unobtain-
able character of the celestial goal: here the mood is despair, longing, or
mourning. Others could more readily be defined as comedy and move
toward an eventual resolution with a view to a beatific denouement.

Some texts are fashioned as a lyrical praise of a particular locus, some as battle-cries calling for the strength needed to fight off the assaults encountered along the way. Some texts offer paternal nudges, or an angry shove, in the right the direction, some deal with orientation gone wrong. Frequently, however, Bernard does not stick to any one of these keys, but moves between them, creating a suggestive flux in which, linguistically as well as contemplatively, he can manoeuvre his reader.

This introductory part has been aimed at constituting a frame of reference as well as a frame of interrogation for the textual analyses of the parables. Summarized briefly, these are the main features of this framework: Bernard's spiritual topography is set out with the Bible as its land and its hinterland. His texts work this context from within biblical passages read in the light of other biblical passages, and with the monastic demand for ruminating appropriation never out of mind. In his representation of the biblical universe, Bernard conveys the soteriological landscapes of the Bible by means of a range of signatures: mostly named places, landscapes, or essential inhabitants associated with specific places. These signatures can be readily grouped into clusters of symbolic connotations. The named places, such as Babylon, Egypt, and Jerusalem have a relatively stable connotative charge and are furthermore defined as each other's opposites. This goes also for their essential inhabitants. David is in this respect to a great extent synonymous with Jerusalem and its connotations, while Nebuchadnezzar is part and parcel of Babylon. The landscapes and cities, however, are open to, and indeed invite, interpretations and elaborations which draw on their physical features and attune them to the context.

But while a cartographer, Bernard is also an itinerant, entering the topography in order to depict it from different points of view, thus establishing differently qualified vistas. His is not a disinterested mapping but a matter of life and death, salvation and damnation. Bernard's textual mapping is therefore primarily concerned with the actual and potential position of the recipient; and he inserts a range of "You are here" marks in order to enable the monk to recognize his own position. This identification is related to Bernard's demand that man know himself as a *peregrinus*, a precondition of his progress as a *viator*. To arrive at this recognition, the monk must identify his surroundings and by means of this recognition—and sustained by the grace of Christ—find the way he must strive to follow by relating in an appropriate manner to the different loci through constant manoeuvres of estrangement and identification. The spiritual topography is furthermore a field of memory.

Here, sins may be exposed to scrutiny and saintliness to imitation; here, Paradise is recalled and Babylon forgotten.

Having criss-crossed the field of spiritual topography and its associated anthropology, like a second Abraham travelling to and fro and marking co-ordinates in the land of Canaan, we shall now turn to the textual application in the parables. Here, Babylons and Jerusalems abound, *peregrini* and *viatores* are frequent. Each of them a tale of lapse, conversion, deviation, and progression, the parables rehearse their theme in diverse ways, shifting their focus, changing their point of view, readjusting their characters—and altering the landscape that they navigate.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX'S PARABLES

INTRODUCTION

This study addresses the Bernardine parables as they appear in the most recent editions. That is, as a group of eight texts named *parabolae*. These *parabolae* are short narratives, ranging from less than ten lines to ten pages in print, which involve diverse rhetorical techniques such as allegory, grand-scale soteriological history, and biblical mimesis with streaks of everyday life. They are populated by biblical figures, personified virtues and vices as well as kings' sons, monks, and Augustines. And they are set in places such as the castle of wisdom, for instance, Babylon, the bridal chamber of Mary, and the road to market. The parables depict aspects of salvation history; that of the individual and that of the Church. They differ in literary style and subject-matter; some are fairly simple and follow one distinct narrative plot, while others are more elaborate, encompassing a wider variety of motifs and a more comprehensive orchestration. But they share a basic narrative structure and an allegorical mark.

If compared to the remainder of the Bernardine *oeuvre*, these texts may be described as graphic, less systematic than the treatises, and less refined and labyrinthine than the sermons on the Song of Songs. They are also less directly appellative than the general *corpus* of sermons but, I would argue, nevertheless make a strong if indirect appeal to their recipients.

I. *Prologue*

1. *The parables and their investigators*

Compared to the vast scholarship on both the works of Bernard and medieval allegorical literature, little research has been done on Bernard's parables. Jean Leclercq (1953) and H.-M. Rochais (1962) have charted text-critical and editorial aspects, and have discussed the delineation of the parabolic *corpus*. There is a brief editorial discussion in SBO, and more elaborate introductions have been written by Winkler

in his edition, by Leclercq in Gastaldelli's edition, and de la Torre in the Spanish edition. To my knowledge, few works examine the subject matter of the parables more specifically.

Leclercq dedicates two of the psycho-historical essays in *Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France* (1979) to *parabolae* and *sententiae*. He contrasts these two groups of so-called minor works to the rest of the Bernardine *corpus*, viewing them as informal in-house texts freed from that urge of "social control" for literary excellence which marks the abbot's great works and not least their meticulous editorial processes. Loyal to his heuristic employment in *Monks and Love* of a psychological perspective as the key to Bernard's work and character, Leclercq here represents the parables as revealing the "playful mood", the "spontaneous thought", and "unstudied manner of expressing himself" that Bernard employed when addressing his own monks: and thus to Leclercq, the parables become a gateway to the very psyche of those monks.[1] He moreover argues, in the manner almost of Stephen Greenblatt, that features from Bernard's immediate and sometimes prosaic context contribute to the arresting character of these narratives. For instance he argues that a significant role is played by markets, such as that of Troyes with its substantial Cistercian presence, in the shaping of Par VII where the monk does business with Christ.[2]

Leclercq at first seemed somewhat appalled at the unfolding in the parables of the *militia Christi* theme. "L'imagination est extrême, voire dévergondée, les comparaisons sont parfois crues au point d'être de mauvais goût, et sans doute faut-il faire, en tout ceci, la part des copistes, puisque Bernard s'est bien gardé de publier lui-même ces sortes de textes."[3] But in *Monks and Love*, he is less disdainful of the belligerent vocabulary, conceiving it to be a monastic language which plays on pre-monastic memories, and furthermore ascribing it to the violent nature of medieval life in general.[4] He can then discard the copyist as the intermediary with the dubious taste, and assign the cruelty to the masterly psychological insight of the abbot of Clairvaux.

Work on the parables has also been done by Michael Casey, who translated and introduced each of the parables in *Cistercian Studies* between 1983 and 1987: these papers were later published in a revised

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[1] Leclercq 1979, 86–87 and 93.
[2] Leclercq 1979, 111.
[3] Leclercq 1962, 169.
[4] Leclercq 1979, 88.

shape in a volume of the Cistercian Fathers Series. Casey offers brief but instructive surveys of the main themes of each parable. While most useful in a wider context, his work is allegedly aimed mostly at the edification of its readers: "Since we are all on this homeward road, it becomes possible to see our own past and our future equally mirrored in the narrative."[5] This point of view is also manifest in Casey's programmatic renunciation of scholarly intentions already discussed in the introduction, a renunciation which appeared in the article for *Cistercian Studies* but was omitted from the subsequent book.[6]

A different kind of examination has been carried out by Waltraud Timmermann in *Studien zur allegorischen Bildlichkeit den Parabolae Bernhards von Clairvaux* (1982). Timmermann's interest lies with the dynamics of allegory, which she approaches from the point of view of reception theory. She subscribes to the point of view of *Rezeptionsästhetik* and positions herself firmly within the Jaussian concern with the alterity of medieval texts and with their *Wirkungsgeschichte*. She does, however, also distance herself from Jauss's conceptions of *Erwartungshorizont*. First, she counters his idea of the historical reader as one whose *Erwartungshorizont* is lost in history to scholars, yet who may be approached by readers via a transsubjective frame of reference. Second, she objects to the significance that he applies to the *Erwartungshorizont* of the implied reader which is according to Jauss *objektivierbar* through the author's textual pointers. These are pointers related to genre, explicit or implicit allusions to other texts, and the treatment of the tension between fiction and reality.[7]

In her modification of this position, Timmermann suggests a point of view in which the historical reader's frame of reference is approached through the textual pointers aimed at the implied reader, and she thus softens in turn the absolute alterity of medieval texts and the possibility of tracking down objective indications aimed at an implied reader. The theoretical distinctions between authorial intention, implied readers, and historical readers become crucial to Timmermann in her pursuit of the ways in which contemporary and later readers have received the allegorical layers of the parables.

The present study draws heavily on these studies of the parables, but sets out on another course. Our focus is directed towards the topo-

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[5] Casey 2000, 12.
[6] Casey 1983a, 16.
[7] Timmermann 1982, 16–28. Cf. Jauss 1974, 173–177.

graphical structures of the *parabolae*, and they are considered through their participation partly in a field of analogical representation, partly in the Bernardine *oeuvre*.

2. Sitz-im-Leben

The parables were first presented in an oral, perhaps even vernacular version.[8] Presumably, they were intended for, and mainly read by, monks. The medieval manuscripts come primarily from Cistercian and almost as frequently Benedictine monasteries.[9] There are several pointers in the texts that would have held a particular attraction for a monastic audience. The casting of a novice and a monk as the main characters of Par III and VII respectively leaps to the eye. Furthermore, the suggestive lamentations of Par VI that monks and regular canons are the only remaining defenders of the Church, and Christ's praises, in Par VII, of the monastery as the best place to earn beatitude, have an innate monastic tenor. Nevertheless, the parables are apparently sufficiently open-ended to have found favour with other circles as well. Zink refers to a vernacular version of Par V which has, however, spiced up considerably the parable's depiction of the final banquet in the City of the Soul.[10]

A more precise identification of the exact monastic context and audience has proved difficult. As for the context, readings in Chapter or refectory are possibilities suggested by Dinzelbacher.[11] Attempts to identify the audience have been focused on the considerable pedagogical concern displayed in the texts as well as their blend of teaching, entertainment, and *divertissement*.[12] This has led Leclercq to suggest that the parabolic genre is suited for the *turba magna*, the anonymous masses, of the monastery.[13] For Timmermann, however, lay brothers must be ruled out because of their lack of Latin;[14] a claim which is perhaps contested by the possible vernacular origin of the parables.

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[8] Casey 2000, 12; Leclercq 1979, 94.

[9] Rochais 1962, 34–43.

[10] Zink 1976, 387–388; Leclercq 1979, 107.

[11] Dinzelbacher 1998, 57.

[12] Leclercq 1979, esp. 97; Leclercq 1992, 32; Newhauser 1983, 108; Coleman 1992, 179.

[13] Leclercq 1992, 18.

[14] Timmermann 1982, 67, note 15.

To my mind, the parables are introductory. Not in the sense of trivial or simple, but in a sense which pays its due to the spatial and narrative implications of the term 'introduction'. In the parables, Bernard leads his audience into monastic life. Partly through his representation in these texts of dominant monastic motifs, partly through the ways in which he entices his recipients into a monastic mode of understanding; a mode which merges the static with the pliable and doctrine with reception.

Nothing is known of the parables' date of provenance; Winkler suggests that the whole period of Bernard's homiletic activity, 1115–1153, may be taken into consideration.[15] If we accept Newhauser's suggestion that Galand of Reigny's dedication of his parables to Bernard indicates that Galand found inspiration for his *Parabolarium* in Bernardine works of a somewhat similar nature, it follows that Bernard began expressing himself in parables at a fairly early stage; Newhauser dates the beginning of Galand's parabolic work to between 1123 and 1128, but it was not concluded until after 1134.[16]

At any rate, there is a certain fluidity in the origination of Bernard's parables. Their extant shape is the work of listeners who wrote down the abbot's oral communications from memory. Apparently they did not even pass through Bernard's editorial hand.[17] This transmission may account for some of their diversity in style and character, and for the different versions and even amalgamations of parables in circulation. In the Middle Ages the parables were generally recognized as Bernardine. Later editors disagreed; mainly, it seems, because they considered the texts undignified and unworthy of Bernard. As we shall see, in print the conglomeration of parables looked rather different from edition to edition.

The Maurist editions from the latter half of the 17th century express a typical caution. In the 1667 edition, the parables were placed among *spuria* and *dubia*. In Mabillon's revision of 1690, the first five parables were published as *Parabolae Sancto Bernardo vulgo ascriptae* and placed as the penultimate section in the volume of genuine texts, followed only by the *Sententiae*. In his introduction, Mabillon states that "Of the five parables ascribed to Bernard [...] the first one is genuine; the second and third ones appear to be imitations fashioned after the first one.

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[15] Winkler 1993, 795.
[16] Newhauser 1982, 109; Leclercq 1992, 15.
[17] Leclercq 1979, 86–87 and 91.

And in ancient editions, the fourth and fifth have their place among spurious works."[18] Under the title of the fourth parable he repeats this caveat.

Modern research has further elaborated Mabillon's standards of text criticism, and scrutinies of a more comprehensive amount of manuscripts have added to the number of authentic parables as well as the certainty with which they are thus classified.[19] Furthermore recent interest in Bernard's many different stylistic levels of expression has led to what may be termed a "quotidian turn".[20] This has given rise to a reconsideration of the parables which acknowledges the qualities of what is no longer considered grotesque and thus un-Bernardine, but rather spontaneous and everyday, and hence closer to the abbot's personality. It is likely enough that one of the causes of Mabillon's only lukewarm acceptance of their authenticity is the very trait now lauded by Leclercq as the "freshness, the spontaneity, and boyish charm of the abbot's everyday talks to his monks at Clairvaux".[21]

II. *Genre*

The current editorial appearance of this body of texts as an appealingly delineated, closely-knit cluster of parables is the outcome of a composite process shaped by both synchronic and diachronic conditions. Unlike the sermons and treatises, the parables have led a somewhat turbulent life on the fringes of the Bernardine *oeuvre*, the question being not only whether they were genuinely Bernardine but also what kind of texts they were. How did the parables become parables? Or differently: by virtue of which properties do they belong to the genre of parables?

On a general note, it may be suggested that generic definitions of medieval texts hinge on four different criteria. First, the genre designations passed down by authors or scribes; second, the way in which texts are gathered and positioned in manuscripts; third, their style or form;

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[18] "Ex Parabolis quinque Bernardo ascriptis [...] prima genuina est; secunda et tertia ad primæ imitationem confictæ videntur: quarta et quinta in antiquis editionibus inter spuria opera locum habent." PL 183.23.

[19] Rochais 1962, 34–51.

[20] Albeit not well-established in the manner of the linguistic and the performative turns respectively.

[21] Leclercq 1979, 107.

and finally, their subject-matter. Needless to say, each of these issues is a complex in its own right and attracts a range of specialized scholarly interest from palaeography to genre-theory. What is proposed here is merely a sketch aimed at tracing the parabolic specificities of the texts and the impact of these specificities on their representation of spiritual topography.

1. *Designations and collections*

The manuscript versions of the parables, if afforded any generic definitions, are most frequently designated *parabola* but also recurrently *sermo*, less often *liber* and *tractatus*.[22] When discussing the generic qualities of these texts, it must be kept in mind that the label *parabola* was generally added by copyists. Only once does a parable define itself as such; in Par VI, the transition from the introduction to the narrative reads: "These four eras [of the Church] will be shown in a better way in the following parable."[23] But even this may be the scribe's phrasing rather than Bernard's. The fact is that in these texts the generic designation, rather than a communication from the author to the reader, whether implied or real, is a communication from one recipient to another.

The second element that may fortify the parables' status as a coherent group of generically similar texts is the way in which they have been clustered in the course of their transmission. A genealogy of editions lies outside the scope and ambition of this study, and I shall just point to three different stages of the lineage.

According to Rochais, forty-nine manuscripts from the first Cistercian century include one or several of those first six parables whose authenticity was well-established when Rochais drew up his list in 1962. The list shows that the parables are often found alone or in pairs and only rarely grouped together. Apparently there is no distinct pattern in their position; sometimes they are juxtaposed with Bernardine *sententiae* or sermons, less frequently with treatises; sometimes with pseudo-Bernardine works, and sometimes with works by other authors, ranging from Origen to Hugh of St. Victor. None of the manuscripts exhibits exactly the collection of parables printed in modern editions. Rochais's

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[22] Rochais 1962, 36.
[23] "Haec autem quattuor tempora sequens parabola melius indicabit." Par VI; Winkler IV: 860.

list shows that the parables have not been considered a unit throughout, and that neither their being gathered together, nor some joint parabolicity, stem from their medieval transmissions.

Let us skip some four centuries and turn to the printed versions of the 17th century. First, the Cistercian Edmond Tiraqueau's version from 1601 (Paris) which appeared in Antwerp in 1609 in an edition annotated by the Victorine Jean Picard.[24] Compared to the Lyons edition from 1515, this edition involves a promotion of Par V and VI (without the present introduction), which in the Lyons edition had their place among *spuria* and *dubia*, to a position among the *Sermones varii et de rebus diversis, D. Bernardo ascripti, & inter eius opera*. With Tiraqueau, Par V which in the Middle Ages was generally known as *De tribus filiabus regis* appears as *Parabola de Fide, Spe et Charitate*, whereas Par VI appears in the guise of *Parabola de nuptiis filii regis, & de ornamensis sponsæ suæ* rather than, as in the manuscripts, *De Aethiopissa*.[25] Par IV appears under *sermonum de diversis* yet as *Parabola de Christo et ecclesia*,[26] a title diverging from its recurrent medieval designation as *Sermo* (or *Sermo ad clericos de ecclesia quae captiva erat in Aegypto*). The texts now known as Par I–III appear under *sermonum de diversis* as *De pugna spirituali*, sermo 1, 2, and 3.[27] This titular harmonization implies a unification which rides roughshod over the medieval titles. These were predominantly variations on the themes of *The king's son* (Par I), *The conflict between Babylon and Jerusalem* (Par II), and *The king's son sitting on his horse* or *The liberation of the son of David* (Par III) respectively.

It is noteworthy how apart from Par VI, the new titles generally betray a rejection of the medieval adherence to narrative in favour of a reading which is more doctrinal and unambiguously edifying. This attunement to the moral edification to be gleaned from the parables may be one of the reasons why the first three parables were considered three versions of exactly the same story; the story of a soul struggling against vices with the aid of virtues. The variation in the medieval titles may however indicate that these three narratives were originally viewed as different stories, not just as variations on a theme.

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[24] Mabillon 1719, *Praefatio*, §1. Rochais refers instead to a version appearing in Paris, annotated by Picard, according to Rochais, this version only has Par I–IV, Rochais 1962, 25. The Antwerp version of 1609 however has Par I–VI.

[25] Tiraqueau and Picard 1609, 1720–1721 and 1721–1725.

[26] Tiraqueau and Picard 1609, 438–440.

[27] Tiraqueau and Picard 1609, 418–425.

Jacob Horst in his edition (Cologne, 1641; Paris 1642) gathers the five first parables from their different positions in the Tiraqueau edition. Horst transfers the three sermons *De pugna spirituali* into a section of parables together with IV and V, introducing the present Sent III.4 *Peccantes prima* as an epilogue to the first three parables. Par II, which in medieval manuscripts is never termed *parabola* but only *sermo*,[28] is thus drawn into a new generic context because of its alleged similarity with Par I, while Par VI is discarded.

Horst's edition forms an important basis for the seminal Maurist edition of 1667 which is revised by Mabillon in 1690 and again shortly before his death in 1707 (printed in 1719). Mabillon's 1690 edition later enters *Patrologia Latina* and thus becomes the central edition of Bernard until the appearance of SBO. The 1667 edition adopts Horst's group of five parables including his appendix *Peccantes prima* between III and IV ascribing it, however, to an anonymous hand.[29] In Mabillon's revision of 1690, the group is maintained but the appendix is gone. The Maurists keep the titles of both Par IV and V and the group title *De pugna spirituali* for the first three, but add individual alternative titles for Par I and II, namely *De fuga & reductione filii prodigi* and *Conflictu vitiorum & virtutum* respectively. They also keep the earlier printed versions' titles for Par IV and V. In *Patrologia Latina*, what is presently the sixth parable ends up between the letters of Gilbert Foliot.[30]

Finally, the recent textual criticism of Leclercq and Rochais has led to the enlargement of the Maurist group of five parables. Par VI is reintroduced into the Bernardine *corpus* with an introduction that earlier figured among *Sententiae*, and the family of parables is further increased by two. First comes Par VII, concerning which Rochais decides that although it is called a *sermo* in manuscripts, it is better defined as a *parabola* because this definition, as he states, is more in accordance with its literary genre as a figurative narrative.[31] Eventually, the very brief Par VIII is added. The new group appears in SBO in 1972 and accordingly in the Italian (1990), Spanish (1993), and German (1993) editions, but it is understood that this group of parables is still a somewhat open-ended assemblage.[32]

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[28] Rochais 1962, 36.
[29] Rochais 1962, 43–44.
[30] PL 190.961–966; Leclercq 1953, 135.
[31] Rochais 1962, 50.
[32] Rochais 1962, 43–66.

To conclude, the process that paved the way for the present group of
parables is a union of careful and sympathetic textual criticism with a
balanced acceptance and rejection of editorial decisions taken in earlier
versions. Furthermore shifts in vogues, such as our current tolerance of
a more spontaneous abbot, are not without impact either. Some of the
parables were parables already in the medieval manuscripts and have
remained parables throughout, some became sermons along the way,
and some began as sermons and ended up as parables. The closely-knit
cluster is thus a construct, and some of the parabolic labels that seem to
fit so well with these texts' literary specificities are as it were the results
of a second baptism. That being said, as a preliminary conclusion of
this sketch of the turbulent fate of these texts, I shall revert to my initial
statement: this study approaches the Bernardine parables according to
their appearance in the modern editions, that is as a coherent and
delineated unit of eight parables.

2. *Form*

The fact that some parables have been designated as such despite their
original headings, for the reason that their form allegedly meets the
requirements for the literary genre of parables, calls for an examination
of these requirements. Our focus is now diverted from external generic
criteria to these requirements, that is, marks of genre in the texts
themselves: what distinguishes the form of these particular texts? What
distinguishes them from other Bernardine texts and other texts of a
similar character respectively? Timmermann finds that

> Die übereinstimmenden Merkmale der Texte sind bedeutend: alle Para-
> bolae haben eine religiös-moralisierende Aussage, alle vermitteln die
> intendierte Lehre in bildlicher Form, und alle sind in ihrer Gestaltung
> gekennzeichnet durch traditionelle Elemente.[33]

These characteristics, however, apply to several Bernardine texts, and
although the imagery found elsewhere may not be as consistent or
elaborate as that of the parables, these texts are not the only Bernar-
dine texts that convey their message figurally. As Timmermann her-
self points out, parable-like passages are found in other texts.[34] So
while figurative form and traditional elements are useful indications of
points of resemblance between the parables, these characteristics do

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[33] Timmermann 1982, 48.
[34] Timmermann 1982, 67, note 14.

not adequately differentiate the body of parables from the remainder of Bernard's writings. What, then, are the formal attributes of a parable?

Parabola derives from Greek παραβολή and from the verb παραβάλλειν which means to throw or lay next to. *Parabola* thus points to a distinction between a literal message and an analogous meaning outside or next to this message. With an introductory split of pedagogical merit, Whitman defines these two poles as what is said (fiction) and what is meant (truth).[35] The cognitive implications of this split have been further scrutinized by Mark Turner in his investigations into the parabolic drive of *The Literary Mind*. Turner takes his cue from cognitive linguistics and translates this distinction into a definition of parables as transference of narrative meaning from one mental space to another.[36] In Turner's terminology, the parable consists of a "source story" (that which is told) and a "target story" (the meaning alluded to)[37] with a metaphorical process going on between them.[38]

To Turner, the parable is a narrative and metaphorical entity. The narrative element is not constant in the history of the parabolic concept, but the analogical aspect looms large. There are, however, a variety of different ways in which this analogy may be composed and understood.

a. *Parabola*: Definitions and implications

In *De rhetorica*, Aristotle differentiates three kinds of exemplary reasoning: one is rooted in events that have happened, that is, the historical example. Two are based on invention: the parable employs hypothetical data, and the fable uses fiction.[39] The Bible is not concerned with definitions but exhibits a range of parabolic examples. The Hebrew parallel to παραβολή is *mashal* (מָשָׁל), a term used to designate a variety of figurative discourses. *Mashal* can be a noun meaning similitude or comparison and with the additional senses of proverb (the book of Proverbs, Ezek 12.23) and scorn (Joel 2.17), as well as a verb meaning to speak in parables (Ezek 17.2 and 24.3) or to compare (Isa 46.5).

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[35] Whitman 1987, 2.
[36] Turner 1996, 57.
[37] Turner 1996, 49.
[38] Turner 1996, 57–84.
[39] Aristotle, *De rhetorica* II.20.3.

The New Testament has many seemingly technical occurrences of the term παραβολή but no definitions. According to the ground-breaker in New Testament scholarship on parables, A. Jülicher (1899), whose distinction has been widely adopted and elaborated by later scholarship, these *Gleichnisse* (παραβολαί) may be divided into three subcategories. *Fabeln* he defines as figures of speech that juxtapose two different contexts (e.g. "The kingdom of heaven is like a mustard seed …", Mt 13.31), *Parabeln* are longer and more complex narratives (e.g. the prodigal son, Lk 15), and *Beispielerzählungen* stories with an apparent moral that do not need interpretation (e.g. the self-righteous Pharisee and the remorseful tax-collector, Lk 18.9–14).[40] Formally, then, the genre of the New Testament parables is both flexible and inclusive, and its employment of analogy ranges from clear-cut one-to-one comparisons to intricate narratives open for interpretation, most frequently implying a clash of everyday matter and eschatological pointers. These latter are crystallized in Dodd's aged but still, it seems, generally accepted definition of parabolic form and content: "At its simplest the parable is a metaphor or simile drawn from nature or common life, arresting the hearer by its vividness or strangeness, and leaving the mind in sufficient doubt about its precise application to tease it into active thought".[41]

The grammarian Donatus's *Ars grammatica* lays the foundation for the early medieval writers' definition of parable. As one of the numerous features under the heading of *allegoria*: a trope that means something other than it says (*Allegoria est tropus, quo aliud significatur quam dicitur*), we find the category of *homoeosis* which demonstrates a thing's character through comparison. Donatus distinguishes between *icon*, *parabole*, and *paradigma* as respectively a comparison of persons, a comparison of things of a different kind, and examples both exhortative and deterrent.[42]

Isidore of Seville in his paragraph on tropes takes over Donatus's distinction between *icon*, *parabole*, and *paradigma* as the three instances of *homoeosis* or *similitudo* but unrolls the implications somewhat differently. The *icon* is an image associating similar things, the *parabola* a comparison associating things of a different nature, whereas the *paradigma* is an example the components of which may be similar or dissimilar.[43]

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[40] Jülicher 1899, I: 98–115.
[41] Dodd 1961, 16.
[42] Donatus, *Ars grammatica* VII.17.a–c.
[43] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum Libri XX* I.37.31, PL 82.116.

Bede echoes Donatus's distinction but replaces his classical examples with biblical ones, stating for instance that the parable is a comparison between things of a dissimilar kind such as in: "The kingdom of heaven is like a seed of mustard" and "Just as Moses exalted the serpent in the desert, in the same way shall the Son of Man be exalted".[44] The important element in this context is the classification of parables as comparisons between two dissimilar things.

b. Medieval *parabolae*

A normative rhetorical definition of a genre or trope is one thing, however, the characterization of texts more or less explicitly belonging to this genre is quite another. Rather in contrast to the scholarly alertness towards the subgenres and allegorical anatomies of New Testament parables launched by Jülicher, Dodd, and Jeremias between the 1880s and the 1940s and pursued by a range of scholars and schools since then, medieval parables have not attracted much scholarly attention. First and foremost, presumably, because they are limited in number and, as we have seen, indeterminate in designation.

Basically, there are two general viewpoints on the question of genre with regard to medieval parables. One is that *parabola* is not a fixed, let alone independent, genre in the Middle Ages, a point of view held by for instance Timmermann, who argues that each of the medieval concepts of *parabola*, *sermo*, *liber*, and *tractatus* lacks precision and firm delineation and warns against literary categorizations on the basis of such designations.[45] This is indirectly corroborated by Leclercq, who does not include parables in his description of the monastic genres in *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*. With an élan characteristic of his time, Jülicher points to the peculiarity of the medieval development of the meaning of *parabola*:

> Bemerkenswert dürfte sein, dass in dieser Periode, wo die parabolae der Bibel den Schultheologen das Material für die wildesten Künststücke einer kaltblütigen Mysteriosophie liefern mussten, das Wort parabola (parabolare) alle besondere Farbe verliert.[46]

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[44] *De schematibus et tropis* II.2.13, 169–171.
[45] Timmermann 1982, 43.
[46] Jülicher 1899, 249.

Jülicher alludes to the medieval extension of the meaning of *parabola* in the direction of "word" and "speech" and the entry of *parabolare* into vulgar Latin as *paraulare*, the root of *parler*.[47]

The other point of view—that there is indeed a parabolic genre and a well-defined one at that—has its primary spokesman in Jauss, but lies also at the basis of for instance Winkler's non-paradigmatic statement that Bernard employs the "literary genre of the parable" in a vast number of ways.[48] Jauss's interest in the parabolic genre is part of his comprehensive reception theory complex. It springs from his thesis that generic codes are one of the means by which authors communicate their message to the implied reader, and that a concise pinning down of the particulars of genre adhered to or dismissed in a given text may thus become a gateway to the historical frame of expectation of that implied reader.[49]

Jauss's investigations of medieval genres have been crystallized in his schema of the generic particulars of the "kleinen literarischen Gattungen" of medieval literature which, however enlightening, like most classifications pretending to generality stimulates a propensity towards contradiction and modification. Thus, with a view to Jauss's historical-hermeneutical project, it is surprising that the characteristics he ascribes to medieval parables are predominantly hallmarks of the New Testament parables. This is the case right from the definition of the communicative situation as one involving an authority and an audience of persons as yet unilluminated, with an explicit allusion to Jesus and his disciples, to the claim that the *Aktanten* are relations between people and natural processes.[50] The figures brought to mind by Jauss's schematic exposition are sowers and vineyard labourers tilling and toiling, rather than kings' sons suspended between personified virtues and vices; and Bernard's parables seem to be much more at home in the column listing the specificities of allegory.

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[47] *Larousse: Dictionnaire de l'ancien français. Le Moyen Âge*, ed. A.J. Greimas, 1992, 443.
[48] Winkler 1993, 800.
[49] Jauss 1977, 330–331.
[50] Jauss mentions the New Testament scholar W. Magass and further Ricœur and Jüngel as his primary sources, Jauss 1977, 47, note 87.

c. *Parabolae* as a means of shrouding and revealing

Although the somewhat fruitless outcome of juxtaposing Jauss's schema and the Bernardine parables apparently supports the view that it is difficult to formulate clear delineations for the medieval parabolic genre, one specific aspect of the parabolic form seems to call for further consideration and specification; that is the communicative function of parables. There are two parallel traditions concerning this function.[51] One is rooted in Mk 4.11–12:

> And he said to them, 'To you has been given the secret of the kingdom of God, but for those outside, everything comes in parables; in order that 'they may indeed look, but not perceive, and may indeed listen, but not understand; so that they may not turn again and be forgiven.'[52]

This tradition considers the parable as an elitist means of differentiating between those who understand and those who do not. The conception of *parabola* as a mode of envelopment is illuminated in Peter Chrysologus's words on the reading of New Testament parables:

> A potential spark is cold in the flint, and lies hidden in the steel, but it is brought into flame when the steel and flint are struck together. In similar manner, when an obscure word is brought together with meaning it begins to glow. Surely, if there were no mystical meanings, no distinction would remain between the infidel and the faithful.[53]

It also reverberates in Bernard: "It is the secret of the kingdom of God: to the apostles it is revealed to the ear, but to the crowds nothing is said except in parable."[54] The parable is considered an exclusive medium: the opposite of direct communication. It is seen as a vehicle of differentiation between the apostles and the crowd through its blurring of the message.

The second tradition considers the parabolic mode as a means of elucidation and clarification. This perception is rooted in Aristotelian

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[51] Wailes 1985.

[52] Vulgate: "et dicebat eis vobis datum est mysterium regni Dei Illis autem qui foris sunt in parabolis omnia fiunt ut videntes videant et non videant et audientes audiant et non intellegant nequando convertantur et dimittantur eis peccata".

[53] "In lapide friget ignis, latet ignis in ferro, ipse tamen ignis ferri ac lapidis conlisione flammatur; sic obscurum uerbum uerbi ac sensus conlatione resplendet. Certe si mystica non essent, inter infidelem fidelemque […] discretio non maneret […]" *Sermo* 96.1, 592, translation by G. Ganss quoted from Carruthers 1998, 45.

[54] "Mysterium regni Dei est: Apostolis revelatur in aure, nam turbis nihil dicitur absque parabola." Quad 2.1; Winkler VII: 454.

rhetoric, where the parable is a tool of persuasion. Also Quintilian recommends *similes* as an admirable means of illuminating one's descriptions.[55] This understanding of parabolic expression as one of elaboration and enlightenment is adopted by Patristic authors who read Mt 13.1–3, recalling Jesus talking to the crowds in parables, as an indication of the parables' capacity for inclusive communication. This perception is close to an idea of parables as accessible and pleasant, which is also expressed by Galand of Reigny, who says that abbot Julian

> has told me to speak in similitudes or parables and [said] that I should touch upon many issues using figurative rather than literal expressions, because there are some who would rather listen to things that are said in parables and tropes.[56]

But this viewpoint on the parables as a generally accessible mode of expression is not just a matter of stooping to a broader audience. Gregory the Great has significantly developed ways of inciting spiritual understanding. In his homily on Mt 13.44–50, the short parables telling that the kingdom of heaven is like a treasure in a field, a merchant in search of fine pearls, and a net thrown into the sea, Gregory comments,

> Therefore, the kingdom of heaven, my dearest brothers, is said to be like terrestrial things, so that the soul may rise from what it knows towards the unknown in order that by the example of the visible it may drag itself towards the invisible […][57]

To Gregory, the parables become a means of proceeding from the visible towards the invisible, from *caro* to *spiritus*, and the passage shows that accessibility is not only a matter of meeting recipients eye to eye, but also of transporting them to realms of insight hitherto inaccessible to them. Fusing Gregory the Great and Mark Turner, the visible materiality of the source history thus becomes the gateway to the invisible spirituality of the target history.

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[55] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* VIII.3.72.

[56] "Siquidem per similitudines aliquas me vel parabolas loqui iussit et ut, figuratis utens locutionibus magis quam nudis, perplurima temptarem loca, eo quod sint quidam qui ea quae parabolice vel tropice dicuntur libentius audiant." Galand of Reigny, *Parabolarium*, *Praefatiuncula* 1, 52, see also the prologue to Galand's Par VI, 114.

[57] "Caelorum regnum, fratres carissimi, idcirco terrenis rebus simile dicitur, ut ex his quae animus nouit surgat ad incognita, quatenus exemplo uisibilium se ad inuisibilia rapiat […]" *Homiliae in Evangelia* I.11.1, 74.

d. Bernardine employments of *parabola*

Bernard uses *parabola* in ways which seem to border on analogy, allegory, or image with a specific view to the implied recipient. In SC 63.6 the term is used of the sentence "Catch us the foxes, the little foxes, that ruin the vineyards—for our vineyards are in blossom." (Song 2.15). In his comment on the sentence Bernard states that this parable is for the present time (*Parabola ista instantis est temporis*). Similarly in QH 14.8 he refers to a quotation from Ps 90.13, "You will tread on the lion and the adder, the young lion and the serpent you will trample under foot" with the words: "You indeed does this parable touch upon" (*Te enim haec parabola tangit*). The biblical phrases are *parabolae* because they carry an analogous meaning pertaining to his audience.

This point is radicalized in the employment of *parabola* to allude to the incarnation. Circ 2 points to Christ's name and circumcision as a sign of his redeeming mediation between God and man. In 2.3, a juxtaposition is established of Lk 2.21 "and he was called Jesus, the name given by the angel" and Mt 18.16 "so that every word may be confirmed by the evidence of two or three witnesses". Bernard expounds this textual construction as follows: "and this [Word] is read abbreviated in the Prophets, more clearly in the Gospel when he had been made flesh. Us, my brothers, us does this parable address."[58] Here Bernard sets up a typological tension between the Old Testament text, the New Testament text, the Word and the Word incarnate, and his monks as recipients. It is stressed that just as the biblical text is considered a revelation of the word as an analogy of the analogy, Christ incarnate is the parabolic revelation of the Word of God. He is himself the visible "source story" as it were alluding to the divine target story. Once again, the appellative aspect is stressed; the parabolic Christ is turned towards the monks. In short, to Bernard, the term "parable" is characterized partly by its address, partly by its implications of analogy.

The parable may be a means of elucidation. But it is a demanding one. Leclercq has pointed to the function of the parables as a remedy against monastic tedium.[59] Perhaps, with Gregory the Great in mind,

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[58] "[…] et ipsum [the *verbum* concluding the previous sentence] quod in Propheta abbreviatum, manifestius in Evangelio legitur caro factum. Nos, fratres mei, nos respicit haec parabola." Circ 2.3; Winkler VII: 294.

[59] Leclercq 1992, 36–37.

it may be argued that the immediate aim may be to entice the monk away from the Midday Demon: but that this is also a nudge from an understanding *in carne* into an understanding *in spiritu*.

e. The hermeneutics of the parabolic form

This hermeneutical movement is related to the interaction going on between the components of the parable. Resuming Turner's distinction between source story and target story, and pointing to Dithmar's emphasis on the distance or even alienation between these two poles, it may be suggested, in anticipation of the readings of Part Two, that in Bernard's parables there is a great variety in the explicitness of source story and target story respectively. Sometimes (as in Par IV and VI) the source story seems almost stylized, the target story being the one that leaps to the eye. In other instances (e.g. Par VII), the source story is in itself both rich and dense in meaning, whereas the target story seems to offer an additional aspect of this meaning which only pops up now and then. Furthermore, there is a great variety in the distance between the two stories; Par I relates the narrative of a king's son who, made heir to Paradise, leaves it on account of his own curiosity to know good and evil, only to be captured by the enemy. This leaves little space between the source story and its biblico-doctrinal target story. In Par VI, however, the many and diverse elements of source and target histories at times seem wide apart.

Turner has introduced the concept of *blended space* as a term to describe the cognitive processes going on between the two parabolic poles. This is a space where the recipients' own experiences and emotions blend with the source story and enter into the target story. This blended space may be considered a relative of Iser's *Leerstelle*, gaps in the text allowing for the reader's interpretation. Thus the reader's contribution is one of combination.[60] In the case of the parables, emphasis is not so much on interpretation in the sense of 'translation' as on the reader's contribution of his own frame of reference furnishing the text with emotional, sensory, and experiential substance.

An illustrative parabolic example of this is 2 Sam, where Nathan reproaches King David for his adultery with Bathsheba and indirect murder of Uriah through the parable of the rich man who despite his

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[60] Turner 1996, 57–84; Iser 1976, 284–315.

many flocks serves his guest with the poor man's only ewe, which has grown up with his children (2 Sam 11–12). By presenting his accusation in a parable, the prophet has secured for himself firstly a possibility of speaking forthrightly yet at the same time so indirectly that he does not anger the king, secondly the emotional attention of the king, so that he may the more poignantly turn the moral of the story against the by then angry and revengeful David: "You are the man!". Dithmar points out how the implied distance or even alienation between the two "histories" comprehended in a parable offers a kind of protection which makes the parabolic discourse suitable as *Kampfmittel*, and he points to the Nathan-story as an exact example of how the prophet may accuse his king directly, so as to trigger David's acknowledgement of his crime, and in the same breath indirectly so as to protect himself.[61]

Turner discusses the same parable. But with the stress on the "blended space" he for instance describes how Nathan's account of the rich man with his many flocks and the poor man with his one ewe which has eaten from his bread, drunk from his cup, and lain in his lap, draws on David's own experiences and ideas of family relationships. He may then the more forcefully project the whole complex of the source story, now charged with David's emotional input, onto the target story and thus back onto David himself.

The analogical element of the parables varies from text to text. And as often as not, parables have their target story outside the text. First there are the parables that adhere to the strict rhetorical rules of jux-taposition, such as those New Testament parables defined by Jülicher as fables ("The kingdom of heaven is like …"). These texts have a basic metaphorical colouring, and although the distance between for instance the kingdom of heaven and a mustard seed is so considerable that it takes both imagination and interpretation to cross it, the interpreta-tional distance that must be crossed is indicated in the very structure of the parable. Other parables make no or only indirect allusions to their target stories. This goes for the more elaborate New Testament para-bles such as the prodigal son, and it to some extent goes for the majority of Bernard's parables. In that case the hint at the existence of a target story lies either with the designation of the source story as a parable, or with certain formal elements pertaining to generic expectation.

Another constitutive element in the New Testament parables is the

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[61] Dithmar 1970, 19; Turner 1996, 100–101.

range of source stories pointing to the same target story. Thus in Matthew, the kingdom of heaven is expressly like both the man who sowed his field (13.24–30), the mustard seed (13.31–32), yeast (13.33), a hidden treasure (13.44), and a net for fishing (13.47–52). It is moreover like labourers in a vineyard (20.1–16), the king who invited guests for his son's wedding (22.1–14), and the ten bridesmaids (25.1–13). And then there are all the other parables which imply indications about the kingdom of heaven but leave out the formula "The kingdom of heaven is like …".

This multiple narration bordering on, and sometimes reaching, the enigmatic, is a feature counteracting the narrative accessibility of the parabolic genre to which we shall now turn. In order to examine the function of parabolic analogy, we shall take a closer look at three works that are in various ways formally related to Bernard's parables: Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, Anselm of Canterbury's similitudes, and Galand of Reigny's *Parabolarium*.

f. Prudentius's *Psychomachia*

Prudentius's *Psychomachia* (c. 400) is a plausible antecedent of the Bernardine parables, and a milestone in the literary history of personification. Both biblical and classical texts display personified virtues and vices, but not in a structure as systematic and extensive as this. In his work, Prudentius within an overall framework of biblical typology points out the way of believing (*credendi via*) through a suggestive depiction of the wars that rage in the soul.

The text is launched with a summary of Abraham's defeat of King Chedorlaomer and his allies in order to free his captured nephew Lot (Gen 14), making the patriarch not only the first traveller along the way of faith but also a primeval warrior. It then moves on to Christ who oversees the fight inside the body and arms the soul so that it may fight the wantonness of the heart. With this introduction, the first fighters enter the battleground, Faith versus Worship-of-the-old-Gods (*Fides* and *Fides veterum cultura deorum*). We are given a formal description of the figure of Faith in her dishevelled Amazonian appearance with unkempt hair, bare arms, and aglow with zeal. The fight is brief but gory. Worship-of-the-old-Gods strikes first, but Faith

[…] smites her foe's head down, with its fillet-decked brows, lays in the dust that mouth that was sated with the blood of beasts, and tramples the eyes under foot, squeezing them out in death. The throat is choked and the scant breath confined by the stopping of its passage, and long gasps make a hard and agonising death.[62]

Then follows the fight between *Pudicitia* and *Libido* which is no less grisly and no less victorious for the virtuous party. This fight is embellished with allusions to biblical chastity, partly Judith's slaying of Holofernes (Jdt 13), partly Mary's immaculate birth of Christ. More combats follow interlaced with biblical allusions but eventually all vices have been driven away, the fighters lay down their arms, their armours, and their military gait and return to the camp in peace and gladness, with the footmen singing as Israel sang while Pharaoh's army perished in the Nile (sic). But in the very moment that they cross the ramparts, Concord receives a blow in the side from Discord, who has mingled with the army in the guise of an ally. Needless to say, the army of virtues resumes its former bellicose drive and with gruesome appropriateness tears the body of Discord limb from limb. Concord recovers and summons the army, urging them to keep body and soul united in love of Christ and prepare the body as a temple for Christ. Concord and Faith lay out the foundation of that Temple, described in glorious detail. The text ends with thanksgivings to Christ for his aid in the constant war that rages, such is the two-sided nature of mankind, "within our bones".

Several similarities between *Psychomachia* and Bernard's parables leap to the eye. A number of Prudentius's personified virtues and vices return in Bernard, albeit in less meticulous detail. There are also a number of reverberations of *Psychomachia*'s narrative plot, with the protagonists going through fights and labours, eventually finding relief only to find the enemy striking back at a time when peace seems restored. There are, however, significant differences. One is associated with the setting of the narrative. Whereas Prudentius stresses that the fights take place in the soul, Bernard is much less decisive, and as we shall see, his staging fluctuates between biblical scenarios, scenarios that resemble the Prudentian setting, and scenarios related to salvation history. As Jauss has noticed, Bernard's parables have moved one step away from

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[62] "[…] illa hostile caput phalerataque tempora vittis altior insurgens labefactat, et ora cruore de pecudum satiata solo adplicat et pede calcat elisos in morte oculos, animamque malignam fracta intercepti commercia gutturis artant, difficilemque obitum suspiria longa fatigant." Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 30–35, 280. Thomson's translation, 281.

the *bellum intestinum* of *Psychomachia*: his cast of characters includes both personified vices and virtues and figures such as the king's son and the novice, thus seeming to stage the fight partly outside man.[63]

Perhaps the principal difference is the allegorical character. In Prudentius, personification is the basic device used to translate the interior struggle into a narrative. From the moment they are turned into allegories, the virtues are allowed to move and act. This single allegorical hinge, the comparison between soldiers and virtues and vices respectively, holds the whole narrative structure together. In Bernard, the comparison implied in the parabolic discourse lies, so to speak, at the verge of the story. As we shall see, some of the similitudes are implicit, for instance those of the personified virtues, whereas some must be supplied in interpretation.

Psychomachia's allegory is more wholesale than Bernard's. Perhaps it is also more complex; for instance in the de-personification implied in the maiming of eyes, mouths, and throats of the vices, as pointed out by Paxson.[64] But despite its dense violent activity, it is also more static than the parables. Whereas in *Psychomachia*, the action takes place in the very apparel of the figures and their martial motion, the parabolic personae cover as it were a larger and more diverse area. This is one of the reasons why the parabolic analogies are less firmly fixed and less transparent than those of the *Psychomachia*.

Greenblatt has written of allegory:

> Allegory […] then is quite the opposite of what it often pretends to be: the recovery of the pure visibility of truth, undisguised by the local and the accidental. Allegory may dream of presenting the thing itself—not particular instances of sin or goodness, but Sin and Goodness themselves directly acting in the moral world they also constitute—but its deeper purpose and its actual effect is to acknowledge the darkness, the arbitrariness, and the void that underlie, and paradoxically make possible, all representation of realms of light, order, and presence.[65]

It may be argued that in *Psychomachia*, the dream of representational essentialism is foregrounded in a dense imagery-structure, whereas the Bernardine parables acknowledge and even point to a void which is equally a void of representation and a void of light, order, and presence.

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[63] Jauss 1960, 198–201.
[64] Paxson 1994, 68–70.
[65] Greenblatt 1981, vii.

g. Anselm of Canterbury's similitudes

A trivial but significant further difference between Bernard and Pru-
dentius is the absence in the latter of a monastic frame of resonance.
We shall now move to another generically neighbouring text which has
both an element of parabolic analogy and a monastic embedding, but
which differs from the parables in other ways, Anselm of Canterbury's
similitudines.

  These textual passages are components in a treatise on religious
life, published by Southern and Schmitt as *Liber Anselmi Archiepiscopi
de humanis moribus per similitudines*. The treatise's systematic unrolling of
the nature of the will, the struggle of virtues against vices, and the
nature of monastic life hinges on paragraphs most of which are about
half a page in print. These similitudes, summarized in the headings
added about 1130, range from clear-cut analogies such as *Similitudo inter
mulierem et voluntatem*, via systematic lists and steps, *Hae sunt quatuordecim
partes beatitudinis et miseriae*, to expositions of a more homiletic nature,
for instance that of the last similitude, *similitudo cellerarii*. The similitudes
may be considered pedagogical and mnemonic but their function seems
also to be that of a systematizing tool, a means of conveying the
properties of the issues under consideration as deftly and concisely as
possible. The similitudes thus add images to the doctrinal points in
focus.

  The last two similitudes are longer than the others and thus not typi-
cal, but their subject-matter makes them an attractive foil for the exam-
ination of Bernard's parables: *militia Christi* and the introduction of the
bride into the cellar of the groom respectively.[66] *Similitudo militis* opens
with a juxtaposition of the temporal knight fortified in his temporal
armour for combat against visible enemies, and the spiritual knight for-
tified in spiritual armour ready to fight invisible enemies. But which, it
is asked, are the temporal knight's necessities? The similitude then lists
the horse needed to pursue the foe when he flees, and flee when he
pursues. In order to keep the horse to the road, a bridle is needed just
as a saddle will keep the rider firmly seated on the horse. In this way,
the knight's equipment is itemized before our eyes: helmet, breastplate,
lance, and sword.

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  [66] Concession must be made to the editors' note that these two similitudes are not
found in the earliest manuscripts. *De humanis moribus*, 97, note 18. However, the point
here is not one of Anselmian authenticity but one of literary style.

This leads to a somewhat fuller exposition of the spiritual knight, whose horse is his body. With that he fights the Devil and resists his temptations, its bridle being abstinence, necessary lest it be led astray by its own will (*voluntas propria*). The saddle is mildness and the spurs needed to arouse the horse are exhortations respectively to fear damnation and to love eternal life. Having been presented with the equine accoutrements, the audience is called on to follow the further course of the exposition, "As we have now accounted for the horse and the things that apply to it, let us now return to our soldier and examine more carefully the arms with which he must be armed."[67] And the text goes on to explain the breastplate of justice, the helmet of hope, and so forth.[68]

As we shall see, these are to a great extent themes that recur in the parables. But the form is different. The similitude sets an image before the eyes, going over its features almost as if with a pointer, making sure that each of them is understood correctly. It follows an unsurprising course and the symmetry of the analogies, one piece of armour matching one virtue, is a significant part of its communication. The interpretational liberty left to the audience is limited to visualizing the exact appearance of the temporal and spiritual soldiers. The density seems to ensure that no imagination is led astray, nor is the audience required to add anything for itself. This similitude is a matter of storing an understanding of the spiritual struggle in the memory of an audience.

The alleged Anselmian similitude on the cellarer employs a similar pedagogically exhortatory strategy. Launching the paragraph with Song 2.4, "The king has led me into his wine cellar", the invitation reads, "Let us consider how the prudent cellarer usually administers his casks in the wine cellar",[69] and the similitude is then rolled out in oenological vein. The prudent cellarer distinguishes between the different qualities of wine in his casks, and he places the best wine at the back of his cellar and the poorest by the door, so that he shall not suffer too great a loss because of all the people coming and going in his cellar.

In the same way, sacred Scripture holds four different casks of a sweet and mellifluous content: *historia*, *allegoria*, *moralitas*, and *anagogen*.

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[67] "Haec de equo et de his, quae ad eum pertinent, disseruimus, iam vero ad militem nostrum redeamus, et quibus armis armari debeat attentius inquiramus." *De humanis moribus* 193, 100.

[68] *De humanis moribus*, 97–102.

[69] "Videamus quomodo prudens cellerarius soleat ordinare dolia in cella vinaria." *De humanis moribus* 194, 103.

They are positioned in Scripture according to their sweetness; the historical meaning at the entry and the anagogical at the very back. These four casks supply instruction in, in turn, saintly deeds and examples that may pleasantly strengthen the soul, faith that may fill interior man with sweetness, and a comportment that will make those who drink from it appear restored, cheerful, and amiable. As for the casket at the very back, it is the sweetest affection of divine love by which the soul is united with the divine. When leading guests into his cellar, the cellarer distinguishes between those who are simple and inexperienced in faith and who will be taken no further than to the casket at the entry, and those most perfect who will be guided all the way to the contemplation of the *anagogen*. The cellarer also administers the door to his cellar as keeper of the key. Door and key are faith and humility, and he who wants to drink from the four caskets must exert himself in each of these.[70]

These similitudes are clear-cut parables in the rhetorical tradition from Donatus: comparisons between things of different kinds. Meaning is created through the exchange of properties between the two elements, and the juxtapositions are clear, delineated, and pedagogical. Bernard also seems to begin a similitude of this kind. His Par VII is launched with the words: "The kingdom of heaven is like a monk who is a trader. When he hears that a market is to be held in the near future, he gathers together his wares that are to be displayed there."[71] But the kingdom of heaven is not like a monk who is a trader, and the parable is about the monk bargaining with Christ about the kingdom of heaven. Thus the alleged target story is implied as an element in the parable through the aspect of negotiation, and as the parable unfolds it becomes clear that the target story or stories of the parable are to do with the kingdom of heaven in the very widest sense, implying additional target stories of the Fall and restoration of man, as well as the monastery as the place in which this restoration is best secured. Bernard's similitude thus demands rather than offers explanation.

While there are thematic concordances between the similitudes and parables of the two abbots, there are also significant differences. First and foremost, the narrative dynamic of the parables seems to roam

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[70] *De humanis moribus*, 103–104.
[71] "Simile est regnum caelorum monacho negotiatori qui, audiens proximarum nundinarum opinionem, sarcinas suas composuit in foro exponendas." Par VII; Winkler IV: 874. Casey's translation, 89.

where the tight comparisons of the similitudes would never venture. "Anselm" is teaching and informing through juxtapositions of substances that are mutually enlightening, and the role of the audience is to learn and to understand. Bernard, however, relies on the experience, imagination, memory, and biblical attunement of his audience to fill in gaps, add colour and vivacity to the tableaux and accentuate the various layers of his stories. Leclercq notices the remarkable difference in the frame of reference between Bernard's parables and their frequent allusions to love and military service, and the addressees of Anselm's similitudes who have mainly come to the monastery as oblates; that is without the range of pre-monastic experiences presupposed by Bernard.[72] To say that the similitudes play much less on sensory experiential impressions than do the parables has a ring of truth.

h. Galand of Reigny's *Parabolarium*

For our third textual foil, with which we hope to throw some light on the form of Bernard's *parabolae*, we shall finally turn to a work which shares with Bernard's texts both the Cistercian context and the designation *parabola*. This is Galand of Reigny's *Parabolarium*, which was dedicated to Bernard.

Like Bernard's, Galand's parables are very varied in style and substance; they are also more numerous. Some of them are not narratives but resemble rather homiletic expositions; others unfold within the overall frame of a group of monks posing questions concerning biblical passages to a spiritual director, who answers with small narratives. This applies for instance to Par IX in which a brother asks why in 1 Cor 13.13, Paul lists faith, hope, and charity with charity placed last. The father then answers with a parable about the farmer who plants his wine with effort and rejoices in its flowers but even more so in its fruit. Similarly, the wine of God is planted through faith, blooms through hope, and bears fruit through charity. And it is first after faith and hope that they may collect the fruit in their cellars.[73] This kind of comparison is not widely dissimilar from Anselm's similitudes, nor from the New Testament parables, but it is much shorter and simpler and above all much less ambitious in its narrative scope than those of Bernard. It is remarkable that, in some of his parables, Galand further-

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[72] Leclercq 1979, 104.
[73] Par IX.1, 150.

more uses a master-pattern: first a brief parable, then a much longer homiletic exposition of the parable and its meaning (e.g. Par XIII). Finally, he gives us fully-fledged narratives like those of Bernard, but with the exposition attached as glosses to each single feature in turn.

One instance of this latter strategy is found in Par XI, here in paraphrase: There was a noble matron, with a household of several domestics, to whom people would come for help. For instance there came a head of a family who although he had a large staff wanted a maid to bring water and launder clothes. He accordingly applied to the matron, and after many pleas obtained from her a maid. After a few days in his house the maid however discovered that he and his family had light and carefree manners which were foreign to the virtue and gravity in which she had been brought up with her matron. Fearing for her soul, she returned to the matron, who allowed her to stay. After a short while without the maid, the man saw that he needed water and that his clothes were filthy. He therefore returned to the matron who gave him back his maid; she complied and diligently carried out the tasks that had been assigned to her. However she never achieved complete whiteness in the clothes she washed. Once again he returned to the matron to complain, and she answered, "This maid knows only how to do the laundry with water from the underground, not with rain water. I offer you another maid, who is not slave but free. If you deserve to have her, you will find yourself amazed at the beauty of your clothes thanks to her." The man then engaged the maid for whom he had asked with all his heart. And she came to live with him and did the laundry with celestial water.

This story is then glossed with expositions of the different elements. The matron is the sum of Wisdom, that is Christ, her household being the different virtues. The man wants the compunction that brings out the water of tears and washes the stains from his actions; that is what he demands from God. His household is his words, thoughts, and actions, the light-heartedness of which drives away compunction. Lacking the tears of compunction, he suffers in his soul, but when he suffers, he laments and by lamenting amends himself. The first maid cries for fear of hell (underground water) whereas the second cries for the desire for heaven (celestial rain water).

Galand's parable differs from Anselm's similitudes in their relation between source story and target story. Anselm presents two equally cohesive contexts; one is the illuminating and accessible albeit inferior element, the other is superior but also more abstract. With a view to

Gregory the Great, the inferior component of the analogy becomes the vehicle for understanding the superior. And whereas the Turnerian source story lies within the juxtaposition itself, the target story of the similitude lies with a fusion between the recipient's comprehension of the inferior element and his application to the superior of his understanding. In the parable of Galand, the source story may be considered a pretext for the target story; the target story is in fact *the* history projected into a more or less coherent narrative scope, and the glosses offer the indispensable tool for this projection.

As we shall see, Bernard's target stories are situated at the brink of the text, as it were, and the directions as to the exposition are inherent in the narrative. In this respect, he is in opposition both to the transparent personifications of Prudentius, the pedagogical juxtapositions of Anselm, and the assiduous glossing of Galand. This puts a greater stress on the very process of interpretation; a process which is however to some extent left to the recipient and the hermeneutic tools offered by his monastic context.

i. Conclusion as to parabolic form

As a conclusion to our scan of parabolic hallmarks in the formal layout of the parables it may be suggested that even though these texts do not exactly fit the schema set up by Jauss and based on the New Testament parables, they nevertheless do match the most general formal characteristics of their gospel ancestors: they encompass, that is, both vestiges of similitudes, longer parabolic expositions, and exemplary stories. These are Jülicher's classical, heuristic categories. Now neither Bernard nor his scribes had read Jülicher, but his classifications, accomodating as they do the comprehensive nature of the genre, may warn us against any attempt to fix the exact characteristics of the medieval parable.

That being said, the analogical implications of each of these three subcategories give rise to a consideration of the interpretational move of the recipients from the literal meaning to the analogous meaning, from Turner's source story to target story. As we saw with the traditions concerning parables as a device of cloaking and revealing, as well as with the three texts in comparison, there is a great variety of shapes to this interpretational move.

There is also great variety between Bernard's *parabolae* and within each of the texts themselves, ranging from clear cut personification, via

the fleshing out of the topos of the monk as *miles Christi*, to much more complex constructions in which biblical passages are joined in a sort of mosaic. For instance in Par IV Christ wooes the Church, which is slaving in Egypt, through the serenades of David and embraces her in the chamber of the Song of Songs; and in Par VI Christ decides to free the Ethiopian bride of Song of Songs from her Babylonian captivity and then, through Gabriel, carries the message to Mary in her chamber later endowing her with gifts of clothing which are expounded allegorically.

Basically, the parables imply comparisons between things of different kinds, much as the rhetorical definition requires, but this rhetorical recipe does not exhaust the analogical scope or scopes of these texts, nor does it account for their hermeneutic potential. The point of departure of our discussion of the parables is the idea that these texts contain a monastic doctrine disguised as narrative and that the tension, or distance, between doctrine and narrative is where the real action takes place. This is an action which draws on the auditor or reader's own frame of reference, and on a surplus of meaning related to his experience, senses, and emotions.

3. *Subject-matter*

In this sketch of parabolic criteria pertaining to designation, textual collections, form, and substance, we shall now turn to the last issue: possible parabolic traits in the substance of Bernard's parables. We must bear in mind here Newhauser's challenge to Jauss's partiality to form, and his claim that medieval genre theory was primarily concerned with content.[74] The New Testament parables offer the primary repositories of specifically parabolic substance, and it is to New Testament features that we shall turn.

In his *parabolae*, Bernard makes explicit reference to the parables of the prodigal son (Lk 15.11–32), the merchant and the pearl (Mt 13.45), the wedding banquet to which those invited would not come and instead murdered the messengers (Mt 22.2), and the tenants in the vineyard who killed the landowner's son (Mt 21.33–44 and par.). But in each of the cases he soon sets out on an independent course. Thus, the opening words of Par IV, "The kingdom of heaven may

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[74] Newhauser 1993, 59.

be compared to a king who gave a wedding banquet for his son" (Mt 22.2) ("Simile est regnum caelorum homini regi, qui fecit nuptias filio sui") turn out to inaugurate a narrative the continuous but implicit framework of which is the New Testament parable, but which lives a medieval life of its own complete with nuptial spirituality and Early Christian heresies. Par I to some extent offers a similar treatment of the parable of the prodigal son, which is elaborated with an echo of the Augustinian doctrine of image and likeness applied to the original story. Finally, Par VII, "The kingdom of God is like the monk who …" ("Simile est regnum caelorum monacho …") has as its parabolic pretext the very brief parable of the merchant and the pearl, but deviates into a lavish scenario including both an arresting dialogue between Christ and the monk and a eulogy of monastic life as a return to pre-lapsarian bliss.

Although there can be no doubt that the parables draw on the substance of their New Testament antecedents, it is equally true that their employment of the parabolic types of their antecedent is anything but mimetic. It may be argued that Bernard establishes a kind of referentiality with the New Testament parables in his set of actualized, cowl-and-tonsured, parables. Bernard reworks the parabolic substance, and while employing the original parable as a *basso continuo*, elaborates and transfers it into new contexts.

To conclude, the parabolic character of Bernard's *parabolae* is related partly to their original designation, partly to the ways in which they have been clustered in manuscripts and editions along the way. They moreover adhere to rhetoric's formal parabolic trait of comparison, although in a rather independent and flexible shape. They also retain traces of the substance of the New Testament parables. These are all features that must be kept in mind while examining the parables, but it will soon become clear that these narratives escape any such categorization. Thus perhaps the most appropriate parabolic motto for the reading of each of these texts is Bernard's own words: *Nos, fratres mei, nos respicit haec parabola.*

4. *Epilogue*

De la Torre associates Bernard's parables with Chrétien's romances and the appeal such texts had for monks. He alludes to Cesarius of Heisterbach's tale about the abbot Gevardus who, in order to secure the attention of his monks, announced that he would tell them about a king

named Arthur.[75] Leclercq calls the style of the parables and the *sententiae* "homely" and "everyday".[76] Casey speaks of the entertaining quality of the parables.[77] It may be ventured that through this guise of spell-binding epic and cosy recognition looms a somewhat graver purpose, drawing on an interaction between recreation and spiritual accretion. Although the context in which for instance *regio dissimilitudinis* occurs in Par I is narrative, arresting, and pedagogically laid out, the concept and its doctrinal implications do not strike us as exactly homely.

The basic presupposition of this discussion of the parables is that they, however delightful, are an introduction not only to the doctrinal universe of the monastery, but also to its application of the biblical substance, and to the monastic mode of conceiving the monk's own stance within the spiritual topography. The parabolic dynamics and their generic ability to exert interpretative participation sustain this hermeneutical potential of the stories.

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[75] de la Torre 1993, 417–418.
[76] Leclercq 1979, 86.
[77] Casey 2000, 12.

PARABOLA I, DE FILIO REGIS

I. *Summary*[1]

1. "Once upon a time, there was a rich and powerful king, God the almighty. And he caused Man, whom he had created, to become his son."[2] As the boy was delicate, he delegated the Law and the Prophets as his teachers. God taught him and instructed him, showed him the glory of Paradise and made him the heir of it all on the condition that he did not forsake him. He even gave him a free will. But Man wanted to know evil so he left Paradise and ate from the tree of knowledge. He then hid from the Lord and began to wander about over mountains of conceit, valleys of curiosity, fields of indiscipline, woods of sexual excess, groves of fleshly delight, and rough seas of worldly cares.

2. The old robber saw the boy thus unguarded and offered him the fruit of disobedience. But when the boy had consented, the robber caught him and threw him down headlong into terrestrial desires. The robber sent him to the distant region of unlikeness on board the ship of evil carelessness. In the region of unlikeness, he learnt to feed the pigs and eat their pods and there as a slave he was forced to grind in the circles of the impious.

3. But the father had not forgotten the son of his womb,[3] and he sent his servants to search for him. One of these, Fear, found the son in the depth of the dungeon, covered with the filth of sins, chained with the chains of evil habits, miserable but nevertheless untroubled and laughing. The words and strokes of Fear only made the son cling to the floor, and it was not until Hope arrived and placed him on the horse of longing that the king's son was able to escape from his prison. When they saw this, the

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[1] The parables are presented in brief summaries maintaining the topographical indications in a wording close to the original and truncating e.g. the passages on virtues and vices. The issue of virtues and vices is of general importance as emphasized in both Casey's introductions and Timmermann 1982; it is however not our concern here.

[2] "Rex dives et potens, Deus omnipotens, filium sibi fecit hominem, quem creaverat […]" Par I.1; Winkler IV: 806. Casey's translation, 18.

[3] "Filium uteri sui", drawing on Isa 49.15, NRSV: "Can a woman forget her nursing child or show no compassion for the child of her womb?"; Vulgate: "numquid oblivisci potest mulier infantem suum ut non misereatur filio uteri sui".

chiefs of Edom were dismayed, the inhabitants of Canaan trembled (Ex 15.15–16).

4. But the ride was wild because the horse was not bridled, and the king sent out Prudence and Temperance; later they were greeted by Fortitude, the soldier of the Lord. Prudence urged them to follow the way of Justice because the enemy does not position himself on the way, but rather next to the way or in a place where two or three roads meet.

5. Thus, the whole company arrived at the castle of Wisdom. The castle was surrounded by a moat of humility above which the strongest and most beautiful walls of obedience reached towards heaven. On this wall histories of good examples were painted. From the ramparts hung thousands of shields; and the gates of profession were open to everybody, but the gatekeeper stood at the threshold inviting the worthy ones and rejecting the unworthy. The son was taken to the citadel in the middle of the city and put in Wisdom's own bed surrounded by sixty of Israel's mightiest each with a sword (Song 3.7–8); accompanied by David with timbrel and dance and the other companions of the celestial court.

6. Then, however, a storm arose from the north.[4] Pharaoh came with his chariots and knights pursuing Israel in its flight; they had connived with Edom, Ishmael, Moab, Hagar, Gebal, Ammon, and Amalek. The city was besieged; Pharaoh breached the walls and made fires, fighting began, and the city was threatened by destruction. Everybody inside was anxious and confused. Prudence asked Wisdom what to do. And on her advice, Prayer mounted the horse of Faith and went on the way to heaven. Here, he entered the gates by means of confession and came into the hall by means of hymns. When the king heard of his son's pain he turned to his fellow regent Love, the queen of heaven. She offered to go and save the king's son. Love came into the city of wisdom and her arrival caused such great harmony and joy that the enemy realized that God was on Wisdom's side. By this recognition the enemy was scared and fled. Love led the son of the king to his father, who called for the servants to give the son clothes and a ring and for the fatted calf to be killed, "for this son of mine was dead and is alive again; he was lost and is found" (Lk 15.22–24).

7. There are four points in this liberation of the boy; first penitence however foolishly enacted, second the thoughtless flight, third the fearful fight, fourth victory in wisdom. Each of these phases is found in him who flees the world.

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[4] Echoing Ez 1.4, NRSV: "As I looked a stormy wind came out of the north"; Vulgate: "et vidi et ecce ventus turbinis veniebat ab aquilone".

II. *Discussion*

In most cases, Bernard evokes the spiritual topography through almost offhand allusions; there are, however, a few texts in which a more methodical mapping is laid out. Par I is one of them. This parable offers a narrative elaboration of several crucial Bernardine themes. First, it exhibits the love of God. The parabolic version, however, is rather different from that of Bernard's most prominent works on this subject. The parable lacks the Christological impetus of both the sermons on the Song of Songs and *De diligendo Deo*. It centres on the basic love of God for man displayed in creation.[5]

However, the filial love of God which in *De diligendo Deo* is the ultimate goal[6] is here, tacitly yet clearly, the point of departure for a narration of the fall and restoration of man. The parable exhibits features of love in a topographized shape, in which love and of lack of love are pin-pointed in different loci. It thus enacts the capacities and shortcomings with regard to love as navigations of a landscape. Second, it treats the doctrine of the image and likeness of God in man: not directly but in an almost casual form which develops in the course of the parable with the location of *regio dissimilitudinis* as pivot.

The map of the first parable presents five different places: Paradise, the land or landscape outside Paradise where the son meets the old robber, *regio dissimilitudinis*, the castle of Wisdom, and the heavenly palace. It gives particular rise to a closer inspection of the topos of Paradise, the employment of landscape features, the vice of wandering, *regio dissimilitudinis*, and the general structure of the topography.

1. *Paradise*

The first tableau of the parable presents the son and the father, man and God, in Paradise. It is remarkable that in this parable all the elements related to nature, including the tree of knowledge are situated outside Paradise. It is only when the son has left Paradise that he finds himself in an actual landscape.

Paradise is referred to as a quite specific *Raum* the implications of which arise from the two facets of man as son and heir of God. The heredity imagery is a constituent in the doctrine on man's ability to

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[5] Dil II.2–6.
[6] Dil XIV.37–38.

partake in the heavenly beatitude. The double characterization alludes to man's being created in the image and likeness of God. However, this theme is not completely developed by the text until the king's son finds himself in *regio dissimilitudinis*. Only when the son reaches this region is Paradise defined indirectly and retrospectively as a *regio similitudinis*, the locus where the image and likeness of God in man are constituted and still intact.

Although the Garden of Eden and Paradise are to some extent synonyms, there are also constitutive differences. Whereas Eden is the geographical place in which man was created (Gen 2.8), Paradise has a much more comprehensive significance which is elaborated for instance with reference to the dialogue (Lk 23.42–43) between Jesus and the criminal on the cross: "Then he said, 'Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom.' He replied, 'Truly I tell you, today you will be with me in Paradise.'".[7] Apparently, as W. McClung states, Paradise consists of the Edenic Garden at one end of time and the heavenly Jerusalem at the other.[8]

In the case of the parable, Paradise is a topos marked by the harmony of creation yet unbroken. This point is first stressed by the designation of Paradise as "the paradise of clear conscience" (*paradiso bonae conscientiae*). Rather than reiterating Genesis's tree of the knowledge of good and evil (2.17), Paradise is here presented as a place where only good is known, whereas the knowledge of evil is acquired outside. But its position in the narrative structure is primarily associated with its role as the homeland of the father and son, the *patria*. The opening scene is characterized by aspects supporting this setting; aspects related to upbringing: "[God] delegated Law and the Prophets to be his guardians, and he gave him other tutors and masters during the predetermined time which preceded his adulthood"[9] as well as to matters of inheritance: "He issued instruction to him and cautioned him. He established him as the master of Paradise, showing him all the treasures of his glory and promising them to him if he remained faithful."[10]

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[7] For instance in Palm 2.2.

[8] McClung 1983, 1.

[9] "[...] paedagogos delegavit Legem et Prophetas, ceterosque tutores et actores usque ad praefinitum tempus eius consummationis." Par I.1; Winkler IV: 806. Casey's translation, 18.

[10] "Instruxit eum et monuit, dominum eum paradisi constituens, omnesque thesauros gloriae suae ei ostendens et repromittens, si se non desereret." Par I.1; Winkler IV: 806. Casey's translation, 18.

Thus, from the beginning man is given rights as a *civis* and even as a son in his *patria*. The son relates to this homeland in a double-sided way. On the one hand, he appears to be at home on equal terms with his father, on the other hand, his position as heir makes his state somewhat conditional. His state is rich in potential, epitomized in his being dubbed *dominus paradisi*—but the full realization remains to be seen.

2. *Cumulative nature*

The son leaves his father and thereby his original locus of his own free will, following his desire (*concupiscentia*) to know evil. With this move by the son, the parable lets go of the Genesis frame of resonance in favour of a shift towards a New Testament type: the parable of the prodigal son. The son's alienation has a voluntary, even wayward, character; but contrary to his New Testament ancestor, he does not obtain his property beforehand. Instead, he disinherits himself by not meeting the paternal preconditions. At first, his destination is not the *regio longinqua* of the prodigal son, but a topographical conglomerate of mountains of conceit, valleys of curiosity, fields of indiscipline, woods of sexual excess, groves of fleshly delight, and rough seas of worldly cares.[11]

This vista attests to the different ways in which loci and landscapes are employed in the text. While the loci constitute a basic, partly meta-textual, structure of what may be termed spiritual reality, the landscape-features offer an imagery by means of which the topography is characterized and described. It is clear to see that the passage and its amalgamation of mountains, valleys, fields, groves, and forests is not primarily a landscape painting but rather an exhibition of a spiritual state: this is emphasized by the disqualifying allegorical twist brought by the attributed vices. In some cases, the relationship between the place and its particular vice seems interactive on a figurative level; the mountains signify loftiness or conceit just as the image of the sea of worldly cares likely to flood and sweep away the right sense and disposition makes sense on a figurative level. Other combinations seem less obvious. In general, however, with the fusion of locus and vice, the vicious quality of each place appears with doubled gravity.

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[11] "[…] per montes altitudinis, per valles curiositatis, per campos licentiae, per nemora luxuriae, per paludes voluptatum carnalium, per fluctus curarum saecularium." Par I.1; Winkler IV: 806. Casey's translation, 18.

In the examination of functions of place in texts, it is of paramount significance that the places are rarely simple places in their own right; most often they are locales of actions. According to the notion of the locus as locale, the character of the place is decisive for the nature of the act committed there. As regards the literary presentation of the locus as a locale contributing colour to action, we may turn briefly to for instance *La Queste* in which the trial of Lancelot takes place after the knight has crossed

> through the thick of the forest, keeping to neither track nor path […] The darkness of the night served him ill, for he could make out nothing, either near or far, by which to steer his course. Notwithstanding, he came at last to a stone cross which stood on a lonely heath at the parting of two ways.[12]

All the alarms of deviation, loss of direction, and error sound in this depiction of the landscape.

The question is now what the composite landscape of Par I represents. As R.P. Harrison has shown, the Middle Ages see a close connection between marginal nature and a marginal mental state. The association of the wild forest and the wild mind is expressively exhibited in Yvain's insanity following the loss of his lady. When Yvain goes mad, the knights search for him in gardens and hedgerows. But they do not find him; as his mind has lost its cultivation so has his setting, and crossing fields and meadows he has gone to live in the woods like a man mad and wild.[13] Hartmann von Aue's version in *Iwein* is more condensed; having lost control and ripped off his clothes, "[…] he ran across the field naked towards the wilderness."[14]

Bernard's protagonist in his composite topography in some ways shares the obstreperousness of the somewhat later knight of the lion's *fugue* from civilization to chaos. But in Bernard, this impression is primarily brought about via the assemblage of locations. This cumulative nature, made up by a generous number of different landscape-topoi,

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[12] "[…] tout le travers de la forest en tel maniere qu'il ne tient ne voie ne sentier […] Et ce li fet mout mal que il ne voit ne loign ne pres ou il puisse prendre sa voie: car mout ert la nuiz oscure. Et neporec tant a alé que il vint a une croiz de pierre qui ert au departement de deus voies en une gaste lande." *La Queste del Saint Graal*, 57. Martarasso's translation, 81–82.

[13] "Et tant conversa el boschage com hom forsenez et salvage […]" Chrétien de Troyes, *Le chevalier au lion* 2829–2830.

[14] Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein* 3237–3238: "sus lief er über gevilde / nacket nâch der wilde".

seems to heap up natural loci in a way that bursts any rhetorical theory of *descriptio loci* and turns the loci into a chaotic mass of nature. The list of topoi involves a simultaneous heap of carnal vices amounting to a massive chaos of sin. M. Zink suggests that Bernard lifts narrative motifs from Romance literature when in his parables he writes about journeys to distant countries through mountains, valleys, forests, rivers, and so forth, and states that such traits are evasive, often implicit and always immediately commuted by allegorical interpretation.[15]

While to some extent conceding that these figures may draw on contemporary secular genres, the pattern is also found in contexts more generically familiar to that of the parable. Thus another instance of cumulative nature is found in Gregory the Great's *Dialogus* 38 in which an insane woman (*mulier mente capta*), "while she had lost her sense totally, wandered about in mountains and valleys, forests and fields, day and night".[16] In Gregory, the way in which the indications of time and place are piled up drains each of the concrete features of its semantic characteristic. Instead it displays a spatial and temporal chaos. The comprehensive locus of cumulative nature becomes the locality of the woman's drifting, associating the multiplication of landscape-features with unconscious and senseless roaming.[17]

The same aimless roaming is reflected in the wanderings of the king's son. He is in some sense unconscious, his original knowledge of good having been blurred by the knowledge of evil that he has now acquired. As a very brief glance at Bernard's doctrine on the *liberum arbitrium* shows, it takes consciousness and knowledge to manoeuvre in the spiritual landscape. *Imago Dei* implies *liberum arbitrium* consisting of *libertas* and *ratio*.[18] When man was created in the image of God, he was also granted the *liberum arbitrium*. However, in short, at the Fall the freedom was bound by sin, and only when man obtains the *liberum concilium* (free counsel) in the grace of Christ is the will released and capable of consenting to the good:

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[15] Zink 1976, 386–387.

[16] "[…] dum sensum funditus perdidisset, per montes et ualles, siluas et campos, die noctuque uagabatur […]". Gregory the Great, *Dialogorum* II.38.1, 246.

[17] In the vein of Piehler's focus on the psychotherapeutic elements of medieval visionary allegory: "But outside [the city] lie forest and ocean, not merely symbols of the vast powers of the unconscious, but in early periods at least, the very place of their operation." Piehler 1971, 73.

[18] Gra II.4.

> If only we took counsel for our profit as freely as we judge our deeds! so that, as we freely distinguish by our judgment between right and wrong, we might also, by counsel, choose the licit as more suitable and reject the illicit as harmful. Then we would not only be free in our choice, but undoubtedly also free in counsel, and consequently, free from sin.[19]

As long as man is under the total influence of sin, he acts, as it were, as a vehicle of which the steering wheel has been jammed in one radical position, and he circles. In order to be able to choose the way pointing straight ahead, his steering wheel must again be free to move. But in order to manage the steering there must be a sense, a counsel:

> The ways are many, and the kinds of ways are many; undoubtedly the danger for the wayfarer is great. How easily he may go astray from his way in the meeting of many [ways], he who lacks the ability of discerning between ways.[20]

The locality of senselessness par excellence is nature at its wildest and most uncontrolled; this is the perfect place for purposeless and unconscious drifting.

3. *The vice of wandering*

The action first and foremost related to this location of cumulative nature is that of wandering—"the foolish boy began to wander" ("coepit vagari puer insipiens"). Basically there are two ways of moving in the spiritual topography, wayfaring and wandering. Whereas the first version, the progression of the *viator*, implies purposefulness and focus on both the goal and the way, the second version, the one presented in Par I, implies aimless drifting or foolish pursuit of the wrong purposes.

This feature is paralleled in courtly romance. Here, the knights' drifting at random waiting for some kind of adventure to appear often leads to great glory accompanied by immediate debasement, such as that experienced by Chrétien's Perceval when he first arrives at the

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[19] "Utinam tam libere nobis consuleremus, quam libere de nobis iudicamus, ut quemadmodum libere per iudicium licita illicitaque decernimus, ita per consilium et licita, tamquam commoda, nobis eligere, et illicita, tamquam noxia, respuere liberum haberemus! Iam enim non solum liberi arbitrii, sed et liberi procul dubio consilii, ac per hoc et a peccato liberi essemus." Gra IV.11; Winkler I: 188–190. O'Donovan's translation, 67.

[20] "Multae sunt viae, et genera multa viarum; magnum profecto periculum viatori. Quam facile in multarum occursu errabit in via sua, qui viarum discretione caruerit!" QH 11.2; Winkler VII: 632.

grail castle, yet fails to ask the right question.[21] The antithesis of this wandering is the purposeful striving of the quest. In Stauffer's words:

> Nicht Abenteuerlust ist sein Antrieb, sondern die Erkenntniss, dass das allzu leicht gewonnene und daher wieder verlorene Glück nur durch höchsten persönlichen Einsatz und ernstes Bemühen wieder errungen werden kann, somit steht die zweite Wanderung unter dem Zeichen des Suchens […][22]

Thus, it seems that apart from the joint preoccupation with love[23] and perhaps a certain horticultural predilection,[24] the monastic and the courtly textual universes share a basic contrast between the 'wandering' and the 'quest'.

In the parable, the son's wandering is in accordance with Cain's turning away from the Lord and entering the land of Nod, in which his condition is that of a wandering fugitive. Wandering is what man must do when expelled from Paradise.[25] The wandering is by no means a specifically biblical topos; the etiological aspect of wandering seems to have a more general mythological character. Thus, it has a classical counterpart in Cicero's description of the disorderly society which was brought into harmony by eloquence. He states, "For there was a time when men wandered at large in the fields like animals […]".[26]

The purposelessness and curvedness of this wandering is expressed with eloquence in the term *animus vagabundus*, the unsettled soul. The notion appears in *Confessiones* V.6 where it describes Augustine's unsettled state of mind during the nine years when he was a Manichean disciple. Apart from this passage, one of its few occurrences—perhaps the only one—is Bernard's Dil VII.18–19 on the impious people walking in circles.[27] In these paragraphs it is described how those who are

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[21] Chrétien de Troyes, *Perceval* 3068–3422. *La Queste del Saint Graal* generally describes Gauvains as the wanderer *par excellence*.

[22] Stauffer 1958, 128. I do not share Saunders's disregard of Stauffer's work as "pseudo-philosophical", Saunders 1993, x.

[23] Regardless of whether one sides with Gilson or Leclercq in the debate over interdependence between notions of spiritual and courtly love.

[24] In both contexts, the walled garden is the *locus* par excellence of love: *Roman de la Rose* vis à vis e.g. Bernard's exposition of Song 4.12's *hortus conclusus*.

[25] Chiming in with God's words to Cain, Gen 4.12, NRSV: "When you till the ground, it will no longer yield to you its strength; you will be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth"; Vulgate: "cum operatus fueris eam non dabit tibi fructus suos vagus et profugus eris super terram".

[26] "Nam fuit quoddam tempus cum in agris homines passim bestiarum modo vagabantur […]" Cicero, *De Inventione* I.II.2, 4. Hubbell's translation, 5.

[27] With allusion to Ps 11.9: "in circuitu impii ambulant".

led by their *ratio* instead of their *amor Dei* are never contented: he who has a beautiful wife or a precious garment is constantly in search of someone even more beautiful or something even more precious only to find himself still unsatisfied even when he achieves what he has been striving for: "Thus the restless mind, running to and fro among the pleasures of this life, is tired out but never satisfied […]".[28]

In order to see this circular pattern exhibited in its most radical version we must anticipate for a moment the parable's description of the arrival of the king's son in *regio dissimilitudinis* where the circuitous wanderings are tightened into a full circle. The circles described in *De diligendo Deo* are of a confused, restless, or officious character, contrasting with the direct strivings of the just towards the heavenly goal. In the parable, however, it is not even a question of detours. The wanderings of the sinner in time turn into a veritable circling, with the sinner chained to the grindstone of sin.

In other Bernardine texts, *vagari* has implications of pride and folly. The term may be applied to particular, even quite practical matters, but maintains its wider post-lapsarian resonance. This goes for Tpl IV.7 which defines the Templars as knights who among other things do not wander about in curiosity (*curiosi vagantur*). The designation points to the Order's military discipline but also to its estrangement from carnal inclinations.

A related wording is employed in Ep 359 to denote Abbot Arnold of Morimond's decision to leave his monastery for Jerusalem in order to live as a Cistercian there. Bernard considers Arnold's action a matter of sinful wandering: "And from this too our Order will take great mischief, since it may easily occur to anyone wanting to wander that he might set off there without danger to find the same way of life observed as he has professed at home."[29] This letter touches upon practical aspects of the objection to monastic peregrinations, according to which any peregrination of the monk, even one to Jerusalem, must be considered as a digression from the straight way followed when staying in the

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[28] "Ita enim fit ut, per varia et fallacia mundi oblectamenta vagabundus animus inani labore discurrens, fatigetur, non satietur, […]" Dil VII.18; Winkler I: 106. Walton's translation, 111.

[29] "Sed et nostra religio plurimum ex hoc capiet detrimentum, cum facile sit cuique vagari gestienti, illo, tamquam absque ullo discrimine, praesumere peregrinari, ubi scilicet idem, quod professus est, inventurus est propositum observari." Ep 359; Winkler III: 636. James's translation, 24.

monastery. The element of *vagari* as temptation, only hinted in the letter, is highlighted in the obituary of Humbert: "I know that it is hard for a lax man to grasp discipline, for a talkative one to endure silence, for the one accustomed to wandering to remain stable".[30] In these words there may or may not be a hint at the fact that Humbert had wanted to leave Igny where he was abbot in order to return to Clairvaux.[31]

These examples point to wandering as a matter of corporeal movement. But intra-mural wandering of an equal gravity is found on a physically much smaller scale. A classic example of this is the monk mercilessly caught at the first stage of pride, that of curiosity:

> How does it show itself? You see one who up to this time had every appearance of being an excellent monk. Now you begin to notice that wherever he is, standing, walking or sitting, his eyes are wandering, his glance darts right and left, his ears are cocked. Some change has taken place in him; every movement shows it.[32]

Also Sent III.31 addresses internal monastic wandering. In this text Bernard pursues the four kinds of monks described in *Regula Benedicti* 1, among which are the *gyrovagi*: "Always on the move, they never settle down, and are slaves to their wills and gross appetites."[33] In Bernard's view, "It can be shown that in every cloister there are the four kinds of monks that blessed Benedict describes."[34] Among these are

> the gyrovages of the flesh, who are corporally enclosed within the walls of the monastery, but wander about the entire world in their hearts and their conversation. There are spiritual gyrovages, who pass from meditative reading to prayer and from prayer to work in a lighthearted fashion. In nothing they do can they anticipate the fruit that comes from

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[30] "Scio ego quia durum est homini dissoluto apprehendere disciplinam, verboso silentium pati, vagari solito stabilem permanere […]" Humb 8; Winkler VIII: 964.

[31] Bernard wrote Humbert an angry letter (Ep 141). In the end, Humbert did return to Clairvaux where he became Bernard's right hand after the death of Bernard's brother Gerard.

[32] "Hanc autem talibus indiciis deprehendes: si videris monachum, de quo prius bene confidebas, ubicumque stat, ambulat, sedet, oculis incipientem vagari, caput erectum, aures portare suspensas, e motibus exterioris hominis interiorem immutatum agnoscas." Gra X.28; Winkler II: 88. Conway's translation, 57. The passage echoes the "incipiam vagari" of Song 1.6.

[33] "[…] semper vagi et numquam stabiles, et propriis voluntatibus et gulae illecebris servientes […]" *Regula Benedicti* 1, 170. Fry's translation, 171.

[34] "In omni claustro quattuor illa genera monachorum esse comprobantur quae describit beatus Benedictus." Sent III.31; Winkler IV: 424. Swietek's translation, 216.

stability which is constant and devotion which perseveres. Rather, in their mental sloth they think first this, then that, to be better, and while they begin everything, they complete nothing.[35]

To conclude, it may be argued that the state of wandering is considered the general human condition entailed by the Fall; that wandering is the motion *par excellence* of terrestrial exile. Moreover and more specifically, it is an individual temptation related to curiosity. Both the physical and the spiritual wandering may be counterbalanced by the monastic demand for *stabilitas* initiated with *Regula Benedicti*.[36] In the words of *De praecepto et dispensatione*: "The contract of stability rules out henceforth any feeble relapse, angry departure, aimless or curious wandering, and every vagary of fickleness".[37]

The contrast between constancy and inconstancy has a practical as well as a spiritual side to it. The two aspects are often intertwined as well as interacting, so that the practical inconstancy promotes the spiritual, and vice versa. *Stabilitas* is considered the means by which spiritual as well as physical wandering may be checked. However, even the vow of stability is no guarantee against wandering. As Casey states, the

solemn profession of stability means that the whole cosmic drama of salvation is transferred to the microcosm of the monastery [...] because of the effects of monastic profession, the battleground remains fundamentally the monastery itself [...] Such personal presence within the community does not exactly correspond with bodily presence [...] One can

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[35] "Sunt gyrovagi carnales, qui corpore tantum intra saepta monasterii inclusi, corde et lingua totum mundum circumeunt. Sunt et gyrovagi spirituales qui de lectione ad orationem, de oratione ad laborem pro sui cordis levitate feruntur, in nullo operis fructum stabili constantia et perseveranti devotione praestolantes, sed pro acedia mentis suae nunc hoc nunc illud melius putantes, omnia incipientes, nil perficientes." Sent III.31; Winkler IV: 426. Swietek's translation, 216–217.

[36] Implied in the monastic vow: "When he is to be received, he comes before the whole community in the oratory and promises stability, fidelity to monastic life, and obedience." ("Suscipiendus autem in oratorio coram omnibus promittat de stabilitate sua et conversatione morum suorum et oboedientia [...]") *Regula Benedicti* 58.17, 268. Fry's translation, 269. Furthermore "The workshop where we are to toil faithfully at all these tasks is the enclosure of the monastery and the stability in the community." ("Officina vero ubi haec omnia diligenter operemur claustra sunt monasterii et stabilitas in congregatione.") *Regula Benedicti* 4.78, 186. Fry's translation 187.

[37] "Praescribat proinde stabilitatis pactum omni deinceps remisso descensui, contentioso discessui, vago et curioso discursui, totius denique inconstantiae levitati [...]" Pre XVI.44; Winkler I: 408. Casey's translation, 1996, 289.

continue to remain within the enclosure, but roam at will throughout the world by fantasy. This wandering will often lead to the well-recognized monastic vice of acedia.[38]

In short, the wandering of the king's son may be read at a universal level, referring to the post-lapsarian condition of mankind; at a concrete level referring to the physical pursuit of material or spiritual goals, tracing the impious circles; at a monastic level referring to the lack of concentration in choice of monastic practice, i.e. the physical pursuit on a spatially smaller scale; and finally, at a spiritual level referring to the difficulty in keeping one's mind directed, be that towards the celestial goal or the means by which to get there.

Considered from the anthropological point of view, the wandering son of the king is a *peregrinus* in a tumultuous landscape which is not his proper one. However, the narrative allows him no explicit consciousness of being a stranger, for as we have seen, wandering is a vice of unconsciousness. His lack of consciousness indeed entails a danger that he may settle, insofar as his memory seems to have been drained of any trace of the lost homeland. Thus, at this stage in the parable, it is almost possible to speak of the landscape adopting the son—or at least of the son adapting to the landscape.

4. *The old robber*

The wild, cumulative nature of Par I has an inhabitant; it is the habitat of the old robber (*antiquus praedo*). The term may echo Rev 20.2, "He seized the dragon, that ancient serpent, who is the Devil and Satan" ("et adprehendit draconem serpentem antiquum qui est diabolus et Satanas"). Whereas Bernard here uses the word *praedo*, *latro* seems a much more common designation of the diabolic assailant. The chaotic landscape constitutes a locus in which the old robber is at home, just as the king was at home in Paradise. Thus, the old robber is a Christian spiritual actor in a role which in other genres of literature is played by the monster.

The figure of the robber is a crucial figure in the unfolding of salvation history within a topographical structure. The robber and the wayfarer are natural opponents, and the *latro* appears to be an almost archetypal threat to the *viator* in the same way as wolves to sheep. In

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[38] Casey 1996, 291–292.

his depiction of the ways in which any thing, *in casu* a poem like *Ars Amatoria*, may be applied, Ovid alludes to this basic set of antagonists: "Both the brigand and the cautious wayfarer gird on a sword, but the one carries it for treacherous attack, the other for his own defence."[39] Almost like *peregrinus* and *civis*, these two are constitutive opposites in each other's identities insofar as the *latro* is the primary and immediate peril to the wayfarer and his attack an inherent risk of wayfaring, while the wayfarer in his vulnerability is the obvious prey of robbers. The relation between robber and wayfarer is considered an image fit to describe the relation between man and the devil, with the parable of the good Samaritan as a key reference. The wayfarer who is first and foremost exposed to the assaults of the robber is he who either does not follow any particular way, i.e. wanders, or finds himself at a cross-roads having to choose between two roads. Bernard writes:

> In the poverty of this kind, that is, which is voluntary and necessary according to the will, lies the safe and straight way, or else Christ would not have entered it. The other ways, even if they are good, are full of robbers. The path of this poverty does not know ambushes of robbers because it is steep and only few ascend by it. For robbers do not frequently lay their ambushes where there is not a frequent passage of wayfarers.[40]

In short, the purposeful striding of the *viator* within the monastic walls is the most useful device against the attacks of diabolic robbers. Following this line of thought, the imagery of sin depicted as a robber is often connected with lack of vigilance in the victim.[41] Thus, the fact that the son is without guards points to the lack of circumspection and alertness. But it also refers to his self-reliance; he wants awareness of his dependence on God.

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[39] "Et latro et cautus praecingitur ense viator; ille sed insidias, hic sibi portat opem." Ovid, *Tristia* II.271, 74. Wheeler's translation.

[40] "Huiusmodi enim paupertatis, voluntariae videlicet, et ex voluntate necessariae, via secura et recta est; alioquin Christus eam non fuisset ingressus. Ceterae viae, etsi bonae sint, plenae tamen sunt latronibus. Semita huius paupertatis, quia ardua est et pauci per eam ascendunt, insidias latronum ignorat. Non enim frequenter ponunt latrones insidias, ubi frequens non est transitus viatorum." Ep 462.7; Winkler III: 912. This letter is not included in James's translation.

[41] Peter Chrysologus (d. 450) writes on the brother of the prodigal son that the robber (a figuration of envy) captures the soul and that if man wants to deserve the celestial glory and possess the beatitude of Paradise, he must remain awake in faith. Peter Chrysologus, *Sermo* 4.1, 32.

5. *The ship*

The region between Paradise and *regio dissimilitudinis* has a peculiar interim character, and it is only after the son has passed through this region and the robber has offered him the fruit of disobedience, thus causing a second Fall, that the old robber throws the son headlong into terrestrial desires. This action marks a spiritual as well as a geographical transition which, unlike the departure from Paradise, happens against the son's will. The involuntary character is clear from the fact that his feet and hands are bound, anticipating the enslavement of man by sin which is to reach its peak in the next stage.

The transition to *regio dissimilitudinis* is depicted as a voyage. There is a fundamental and almost primeval ambiguity related to seafaring both of which aspects, as H. Rahner points out, is central to the voyage of Ulysses. It is at once deadly dangerous, and the seafarer is separated from Hades only by the thin plank of the ship and the means of a safe return to his home.[42]

Bernard employs this imagery in different ways. For instance in a broad sense to illustrate the course of life, as in: "You are a man sailing like the rest of us on this vast ocean of life stretching far and wide on every hand, and peopled with living things past number."[43] But more often, he applies the image to more specific contexts, prevalent among which are seafaring as symbol of either the Church sailing on the worldly ocean,[44] or the seemingly contingent voyage that nevertheless has divine steering.[45] As a third example, seafaring may denote the exact opposite in references to ships without rudder ("Navem sine gubernaculo", Sent III.123) as a description of an unfocused way of

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[42] Rahner 1957, 435.

[43] "Nimirum homo es, navigans, sicut et omne humanum genus, in hoc mari magno et spatioso manibus, ubi reptilia quorum non est numerus (cf. Ps 103.25)." Ep 233.2; Winkler III: 252. James's translation, 383. In this letter, the sea-vocabulary moreover affords Bernard a possibility of accusing the recipient John, the former abbot of the abbey of Buzay, of having been shipwrecked on this ocean (*Noveris te naufragasse in eis*). John had left his monastery in order to live as a hermit. Cf. moreover: "This great sea, by which truly nothing else is meant but the bitter fluctuating present world […]" ("Hoc mare magnum (Ps 103.25),—in quo utique certum est nihil aliud quam praesens saeculum amarum fluctuans designari […]") Abb 1; Winkler VIII: 646.

[44] "For the sea is the world, the ships the churches" ("Mare enim saeculum est; naves, Ecclesiae") Csi II.VIII.16; Winkler I: 688.

[45] For instance Ep 64.1 and V Mal XVIII.42. The expression *prospere navigans* plays an important part in this context.

life. In short, the exact character of the voyage is defined by whether
the ship is steered, and by whom. Accordingly, the topos of the ship is
an important allegorical and narrative element, a significant point of
orientation as regards the moral direction of an epic text. But—once
again—it is not one that in itself has fixed connotations.

   The voyage of Par I is characterized by the carefree ways of the son,
closely connected with the state of unwariness in which the robber finds
him. The voyage marks the definitive transition from the paradisiacal
homeland to the realm of sin, taking the king's son to the inverse of
his original homeland (*in regionem non suam*) and to a state in sharp
contrast with his original hereditary position. Similar chords are struck
in Bernard's first sermon for Epiphany. The sermon is begun with a
reference to Titus 3.4[46] followed by this passage:

> Thanks be to God, because of whom our consolation abounds to such
> an extent in this peregrination, in this exile, in this wretchedness. Of
> this we certainly most frequently take care to remind you, so that it
> never slips your mind that you are strangers, far from home, expelled
> from your inheritance. For whoever does not know his desolation, cannot
> acknowledge his consolation.[47]

These words touch upon the whole issue of being alienated *contra* being
at home, but also upon the importance of knowing ourselves and
thereby our dependence and allegiance. But the king's son has dis-
missed and left his teachers and guardians who could have reminded
him of his position. Thus, the parable has lined up the narrative possi-
bility of following the son all the way down.

6. *In* regio dissimilitudinis[48]

By moving the heir of paradise into *regio dissimilitudinis*, in which the
son is obliged to feed the pigs and eat their pods, the already hinted

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[46] "But when the goodness and loving kindness of God our Saviour appeared". In
Bernard's version the sentence is phrased as a main clause.

[47] "Gratias Deo, per quem sic abundat consolatio nostra in hac peregrinatione,
in hoc exsilio, in hac miseria. Super his namque saepius vos admonere curamus, ut
numquam mente excidat peregrinos vos esse, longe factos a patria, pulsos ab hereditate.
Quisquis enim desolationem non novit, nec consolationem agnoscere potest." Epi 1.1;
Winkler VII: 318–320.

[48] This parable's mentioning of *regio dissimilitudinis* is one of the, as far as I can see,
seven Bernardine occurrences not included in the comprehensive list of occurrences of
regio dissimilitudinis until the 14th century in Courcelle 1957.

association between Gen 2–3 and Lk 15 is fleshed out.[49] Bernard often uses this kind of intertwined association in which two narratives inform each other. And by this interaction a new complex narrative composition is offered in which the expulsion from Paradise becomes an act of voluntary withdrawal, the estrangement implies a debasement, and a happy ending is nevertheless latent. Furthermore, the original home of the prodigal son is defined explicitly as Paradise, and the son's return is interpreted as a progression, as the king's son eventually moves onwards to the heavenly palace.

During the enactment of the plot so far, the balance between the two biblical narratives has been hovering between the simultaneous presentation of two different ranges of associations and images associated with the Genesis narrative and the parable of the prodigal son respectively. However, with this characterization of *regio dissimilitudinis*, the biblical balance of the story tips decisively to the side of the prodigal son. In this passage, Par I reveals itself as a parabolization of the parable of the prodigal son.

This brings about a quite particular allegorical situation in which the more or less allegorical narration of the parable is at once composition and interpretation. Thus, the story is composed of elements lifted from the parable of the prodigal son, the Exodus narrative and the Book of Psalms, thus appearing as a (semi-)allegorical interpretation of biblical material. But moreover it presents itself as an original (semi-)allegorical text with the intention of exhibiting spiritual progression; and in this latter respect it is an allegorical composition.[50] Par I proposes an interpretation of the New Testament parable in which the tropological understanding is prevalent. The son's departure from Paradise is seen as the result of a moral lapse, to wit the wish to know evil: the accumulated landscape that he enters is defined by moral attributes, and most significantly, the way by which he returns is characterized by moral markers. As a consequence of the absent Christology, the arrival of the son in the heavenly palace is considered mainly to be the climax of a moral progression.

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[49] A similar composition is offered by Augustine: "[…] dismissed by you from Paradise and alienated in a distant region […]" ("[…] dismissus a te de paradiso, et in longinquam regionem peregrinatus […]") *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 24.5; X.1: 137.

[50] Scholars have stressed *Cosmographia* by Bernard Silvestris (written 1148) as a peak in the combination of the two allegorical traditions of allegorical interpretation and composition respectively, thus e.g. Whitman 1987, 219. And so it is when considered

A parallel spatialization of the Fall in terms of man's active movement from a state of created dignity to one of desolation deprived of likeness is found in Ann 1.7. There, however, it is moulded on the Augustinian interpretation of the parable of the good Samaritan, and is thus performed in another topographical setting: "But alas, this man to his great ruin and from his great foolishness, descended from Jerusalem to Jericho. He fell into the hands of robbers, by whom first of all, as it is read, he was plundered", that is of his similitude with God.[51] Also the sermon stresses the likeness of the fallen soul with foolish animals (*iumentis insipientibus similata*).[52]

a. Excursus: *Regio dissimilitudinis*

Regio dissimilitudinis has been the object of vehement scholarly discussions, largely concerned with textual criticism and the various contexts in which the phrase occurs. A short version of the history of the concept *regio dissimilitudinis* is that it appears in Plato's *Statesman*, where the term "ἀνομοιότητος τόπος" is used to describe a place of chaos into which the universe is in danger of sinking because of its distance from the gods. Seeing this, God who created the cosmological order restores this order. The Platonic passage is primarily concerned with a mythological cosmogony in which the dissimilitude pertains to the differentiation from the divine universal harmony.[53] There is a problem with this reference to Plato as the use of τόπον (τόπος), might be an erroneous reading of πόντον (πόντος), sea or abyss.[54] Later writers referring to the passage in Plato are divided on this point, although τόπος seems to be most widely preferred.[55]

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from a stylistic point of view. Nevertheless, Bernard's first parable which is contemporary (if not earlier) deserves to be mentioned as an example of the same convergence.

[51] "Sed heu! homo iste, ad multam perniciem et insipientiam sibi, descendit de Ierusalem in Iericho: siquidem incidit in latrones, a quibus et ante omnia legitur despoliatus." Ann 1.7; Winkler VIII: 108. This quotation refers to the traditional point of view that the descent from Jerusalem to Jericho signifies the degradation from a state of blessedness to one of evil, see also Mart 2.

[52] Ann 1.7; Winkler VIII: 110.

[53] *Statesman* 273d, 64.

[54] One account of the text-critical circumstances is found in Chatillon 1945, 87.

[55] See des Places 1964, 85. For the two terms see Chatillon 1945, 87 and des Places 1964, 84. A comprehensive account of the text-critical discussion is found in Dumeige 1957, 1331.

Eusebius of Caesarea is the first Christian author to use the concept *regio dissimilitudinis*, but he stays within a Platonic setting.[56] However, Athanasius of Alexandria turns the concept in a Christological direction in *De incarnatione Verbi*.[57] Athanasius paraphrases the Platonic text (reading "τόπος") and continues: "[…] is it then incredible for us to say that when humanity had been led astray, the Word descended to it, appearing as man to save it from the storm through his direction and goodness'". The crucial turning point, considered from our point of view, is Plotinus's elaboration of the Platonic thought in his *Enneads*, where "ἀνομοιότητος τόπος" is where man finds himself if he partakes of evil and is thus dissimilar to his true nature.[58] This means that unlike Plato and Eusebius, but maybe in accordance with Athanasius, Plotinus sees the region not as a place of supreme universal chaos but rather as a present reality within human life. In another passage Plotinus writes: "But on earth is injustice and disorder; that is the mortal nature and that is the place",[59] thus making another link between place and moral quality, a link that strikes both the Platonic note of chaos as the consequence of deviation from the divine intention and the note of evil which is the central matter in this chapter of the *Enneads*. Moreover this passage overtly associates earth and *regio dissimilitudinis*.

Augustine is influenced by Plotinus in his application of this idea as well as in other matters. He only uses the concept *regio dissimilitudinis* once, albeit in a context which is to be seminal to the later occurrences of the term, not least with 12th century Cistercian authors. In Augustine, *regio dissimilitudinis* becomes a notion with an explicit experiential and spiritual aspect:

> By the Platonic books I was admonished to return into myself. With you as my guide I entered my innermost citadel, and was given power to do so because you had become my helper. I entered and with my soul's eye, such as it was, saw above that same eye of my soul the immutable light higher than my mind—not the light of every day, obvious to anyone, nor a larger version of the same kind which would, as it were, have given out a much brighter light and filled everything with its magnitude. It was not that light, but a different thing, utterly different from all our kinds

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[56] Eusebius of Caesarea, *Preparatio evangelica* XI.34.1–4, 215–216.

[57] Athanasius of Alexandria, *De incarnatione Verbi* XLIII.7, 424 (not XLIII.4 as Courcelle writes in his list 1957, 24).

[58] *Enneads* I.8.13, 127.

[59] *Enneads* I.8.6, 120.

of light. […] When I first came to know you, you raised me up to make me see that what I saw is Being, and that I who saw am not yet Being. And you gave a shock to the weakness of my sight by the strong radiance of your rays, and I trembled with love and awe. And I found myself far from you 'in the region of dissimilarity', and I heard as it were your voice from on high: 'I am the food of the fully grown […]'[60]

The statement indicates a breakthrough in *Confessiones*, and this seems to be the first suggestion of Augustine's emotional experience of a Christian truth, which he has so far considered from a solely rational point of view, judging foremost its probability and philosophic coherence. In view of the fact that the notion does not appear in the Bible, it is presented quite abruptly and unexplained in *Confessiones*, as though its implications were well known. It seems that the reading of the "certain books of the Platonists" mentioned in VII.9.13 and implied in Chadwick's translation of VII.10.16 may mean that Augustine recognized his own interior state in Plotinus's description of the very concept of *regio dissimilitudinis*.

The spatial character of *regio dissimilitudinis* is debatable. Augustine is keen to stress the non-spatial nature of man's distance from God, in relation with his thoughts about the non-spatiality of God. In *Confessiones*, he phrases it thus: "But the further away from you things are, the more unlike you they become—though this distance is not spatial. And so you, Lord, are not one thing here, another thing there, but the selfsame very being itself […]".[61] In *De civitate Dei*, the mediation of Christ between God and man is represented in terms of likeness and unlikeness:

If man comes near to God in proportion as he grows more like him, then unlikeness to God is the only separation from him, and the soul

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[60] "Et inde admonitus redire ad memet ipsum intraui in intima mea duce te et potui, quoniam factus es adiutor meus. Intraui et uidi qualicumque oculo animae meae supra eundem oculum animae meae, supra mentem meam lucem incommutabilem, non hanc uulgarem et conspicuam omni carni nec quasi ex eodem genere grandior erat, tamquam si ista multo multoque clarius claresceret totumque occuparet magnitudine. Non hoc illa erat, sed aliud, aliud ualde ab istis omnibus. […] Et cum te primum cognoui, tu assumpsisti me, ut uiderem esse, quod uiderem, et nondum me esse, qui uiderem. Et reuerberasti infirmitatem aspectus mei radians in me uehementer, et contremui amore et horrore: et inueni longe me esse a te in regione dissimilitudinis, tamquam audirem uocem tuam de excelso: 'Cibus sum grandium […]'" *Confessiones* VII.10.16, 103–104. Chadwick's translation, 123–124.

[61] "Sed tanto a te longius, quanto dissimilius: neque enim locis. Itaque tu, domine, qui non es alias aliud et alias aliter, sed id ipsum et id ipsum et id ipsum […]" *Confessiones* XII.7.7, 219. Chadwick's translation, 249.

of man is estranged from that immaterial, eternal and unchangeable being in proportion as it craves for things that are temporal and changeable.[62]

Christ, however, while sharing the bodily mortality of man is able to maintain his propinquity with God in likeness:

> We need a mediator linked with us in our lowliness by reason of the mortal nature of the body, and yet able to render us truly divine assistance for our purification and liberation, through the immortal justice of his spirit in virtue of which he has remained in his dwelling on high—not by spatial remoteness from us, but by his unique resemblance to God.[63]

As a concluding reference, we shall point to an early passage in *Confessiones* which also evokes a *regio*, the *regio longinqua* of the prodigal son, and immediately abolishes any spatial association:

> To be far from your face is to be in the darkness of passion. One does not go far away from you or return to you by walking or by any movement through space. The younger son in the Gospel did not look for horses or carriages or ships; he did not fly on any visible wing, nor did he travel along the way by moving his legs when he went to live in a far country and prodigally dissipated what you, his gentle father, had given him on setting out […][64]

As Ferguson has noted, for Augustine "language is a metaphorical detour in the road to God because no sequence of words, even 'proper' words, can adequately represent an atemporal and holistic significance."[65] Compared with later descriptions, it is significant that Augustine's representation of *regio dissimilitudinis* is related to acknowledgement. It is only in the confrontation with the divine light that Augustine

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[62] "Si ergo deo quanto similior, tanto fit quisque propinquior: nulla est ab illo alia longinquitas quam eius dissimilitudo. Incorporali uero illi aeterno et incommutabili tanto est anima hominis dissimilior, quanto rerum temporalium mutabiliumque cupidior." *De civitate Dei* IX.17; XIV.1: 265–266. Bettenson's translation, 364.

[63] "[…] sed tali, qui nobis infimis ex corporis mortalitate coaptatus inmortali spiritus iustitia, per quam non locorum distantia, sed similitudinis excellentia mansit in summis, mundandis liberandisque nobis uere diuinum praebeat adiutorium." *De civitate Dei* IX.17; XIV.1: 266. Bettenson's translation, 364. For more references to Augustinian repudiation of dissimilitude as a spatial distance, see Schmidt 1968, 67.

[64] "[…] nam longe a uultu tuo in affectu tenebroso. Non enim pedibus aut spatiis locorum itur abs te aut reditur ad te, aut uero filius ille tuus minor equos uel currus uel naues quaesiuit aut auolauit pinna uisibili aut moto poplite iter egit, ut in longinqua regione uiuens prodige dissiparet quod dederas proficiscenti dulcis pater […]" *Confessiones* I.18.28, 15–16. Chadwick's translation, 20.

[65] Ferguson 1975, 844.

realizes his distance *qua* dissimilitude from this light. This distance is
not doctrinally qualified but is rather depicted in sensory and spiritual
nuances.

   In the reception history, *regio longinqua* and *regio dissimilitudinis* became
intertwined. Apparently almost contradictory to the implications that
Augustine himself may have intended for the concept, it seems that *regio*
dissimilitudinis is invested with a, dare I say, parabolic quality. The con-
cept's potential of spatial distance is a latent resource exploited in some
later versions which play on physical movement and, indeed, topogra-
phy in brief semi-narrative units rehearsing the motif of departure and
return.

The region of unlikeness is retained by a number of early medieval
authors, but the 12th century sees a renewed interest in the concept
which is not least displayed in Bernard and William of Saint-Thierry.[66]
   It is with the latter that we shall begin. William of Saint-Thierry
says of the soul that "she has left the face of the Lord, just like Cain,
and she dwells in the region of unlikeness, the land of Nod, that is
commotion".[67] In his *expositio* on the Song of Songs, he presents the
locus dissimilitudinis in a highly dramatic dialogue between God and the
soul in which the spatial potential of the term has been realized. God
is angry with the soul who does not recognize herself as the likeness of
God and therefore recognizes neither herself nor God. He says:

> 'If you do not know yourself, go!' 'But where should I go, Lord? Outside,
> chased from your face as Cain—the first one who meets me will kill me!'
> 'Leave and go.' And he will say, 'Go far away from me, far away from my
> likeness. Go to the place of unlikeness. In fact, go far away from yourself
> along the detours of carnal desires and curiosity.'[68]

Not acknowledging her likeness with God, the soul is turned into the
region of unlikeness. Unlikeness, that is, not only with God but also
with her own natural state as a creation in the image and likeness of

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   [66] Chatillon 1945, 100.
   [67] "[…] egressaque a facie Domini sicut Cain, habitat in regione dissimilitudinis, in
terra Naim, id est *commotionis*." William of Saint-Thierry, *De natura corporis et animae* II,
PL 180.725.
   [68] "*Si ignoras te, egredere*. Quo egrediar, Domine? Egressam vel ejectam a facie tua
sicut Caïn, quicumque prior invenerit me, occidet me. *Egredere et abi*. Ac si dicat: Abi
a me, a similitudine mea, in locum dissimilitudinis; a te vero in devia concupiscentiae
vel curiositatis." William of Saint-Thierry, *Expositio super Canticum Canticorum* V.65, 162–
163.

God. The region of unlikeness is thus the location of post-lapsarian self-alienation. It is evident yet crucial that *regio dissimilitudinis* is a negation containing an inherent indication of its converse, namely the *regio similitudinis*, the region into which man was introduced in the image and likeness of God. The concept is thus endorsed with a doctrinal significance; it has become a vehicle for the representation of the implications of the Fall of man.

Auberger has defined *regio dissimilitudinis* as a *lieu de cristallisation* in Bernard; a term through which "sa pensée s'est approfondie".[69] *Regio dissimilitudinis* is at once a concept of a semi-technical character and a reservoir of additional implications.[70] Bernard's employment of the term is associated but not identical with his doctrine on *imago* and *similitudo*. This doctrine is comprehensive; suffice it here to emphasize a few main points: man has been created in the image and likeness of God and thus with the right to participate in—and a natural desire for—heavenly beatitude. In the words of Javelet, the image of God in man is "capable de se conformer au plan divin".[71] Man is, however, created in the image of God; not as the image of God; this applies exclusively to the Word of God. In SC 80.2, Bernard elaborates on the Word as God's image and thus truth of truth, light of light, God of God:

> The soul is none of these things, since it is not the image. Yet it is capable of them and yearns for them; that perhaps is why it is said to be made in the image. It is a lofty creature, in its capacity for greatness, and in its longing we see a token of its uprightness. We read that God made man upright and great; his capacity proves that, as we have said.[72]

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[69] Auberger 1986, 322. Auberger dates Bernard's discovery of the region of unlikeness to around 1135. Reference should be made to his Ep 8 to Bruno, Archbishop-elect of Cologne in which *regio dissimilitudinis* is deployed (8.2) as a designation of terrestrial life: this letter dates from 1131. Dumeige suggests that Bernard may have known *regio dissimilitudinis* only from William of Saint-Thierry's work *De natura et dignitate amoris*, Dumeige 1957, 1336. But Courcelle's comparison of SC 36.5 and *Confessiones*, Courcelle 1963, seems to affirm that Bernard read the concept in its Augustinian context.

[70] The implications of the Bernardine idea of the image and likeness of God in man differ within the *corpus*, McGinn 1986, 326.

[71] Javelet 1967, I: 172.

[72] "Harum rerum nihil est anima, quoniam non est imago. Est tamen earumdem capax, appetensque: et inde fortassis ad imaginem. Celsa creatura, in capacitate quidem maiestatis, in appetentia autem rectitudinis insigne praeferens. Legimus quia Deus hominem rectum fecit, quod et magnum: capacitas, ut dictum est, probat." SC 80.I.2; Winkler VI: 570. Edmonds's translation, IV: 146–147.

This participation is brought about by means of the consent of the free will (*liberum arbitrium*), the feature that distinguishes man from animals.[73] However, in the Fall this order of creation has been disturbed:

> Clearly, man is made in the image and likeness of God and thus has freedom of judgement in the image, and virtues in the likeness. And this likeness has been lost; nevertheless man passes through in the image. This very image, though it can burn in hell, will not be burned up; it will be inflamed but not destroyed. Then, it is not torn apart but perhaps prospers. And wherever the soul may go, it [the image] will be there as well. The likeness is not like that, either it stays with the good, or, if the soul sins, changes miserably, resembling the stupid beasts.[74]

In the Fall, man has lost his similitude, the freedom of the will insofar as this has been bound by sin. Thereby, he has also lost his potential participation in beatitude. In the passage from Ann 1, the image has been marked, but not lost, whereas the likeness has been changed from likeness with God to likeness with beasts, thus stressing the fact that it is exactly the point by which man is differentiated from animals that has been lost.[75] But the grace of Christ retrieves the distorted image described by Bernard in an interpretation of the parable of the lost silver coin (Lk 15.8):

> Not even in this present world could the proper likeness be found, however, even the image would still have lain stained and deformed, had not that woman of the Gospel lit her lamp (had Wisdom not appeared in the flesh, in other words), swept the house (of the vices), searched carefully for her lost coin (her image) which, its original luster gone, coated over with the skin of transgression, lay buried as it were in the dust; having found it, had she not wiped it clean and taken it away from the 'region of un-likeness'; then, refashioned in its erstwhile beauty, made it like the saints in glory; were she not, indeed, some day to make it quite conformable to herself […] To whom, in fact, could this work be better suited than to the Son of God, who, being the splendor and the figure of the Father's substance […] was well qualified for it […][76]

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[73] Gra III.7.

[74] "Ad imaginem nempe et similitudinem Dei factus est homo, in imagine arbitrii libertatem, virtutes habens in similitudine. Et similitudo quidem periit, VERUMTAMEN IN IMAGINE PERTRANSIT HOMO (Ps. 38.7). Imago siquidem in gehenna ipsa uri poterit, non exuri, ardere, sed non deleri. Haec ergo non scinditur, sed forte proveniat. Et quocumque perveniat anima, ibi erit simul et ipsa. Nam similitudo non sic, sed aut manet in bono, aut, si peccaverit anima, mutatur miserabiliter, iumentis insipientibus similata." Ann 1.7; Winkler VIII: 108–110.

[75] Gra III.7.

[76] "Sed neque in hoc saeculo aeque inveniri uspiam posset similitudo, sed adhuc hic

The animal character of post-lapsarian man is stressed even more radically by William of Saint-Thierry: "It is in this way that human beings, stripping off the divine image, have assumed another image turned towards earth, animal and bestial".[77] To William, post-lapsarian man not only resembles the beasts: he is, doctrinally, a beast.

As the above quotation shows, Bernard suggests ideas along this line, but it is a remarkable and representative indication of the Bernardine doctrine of image and likeness that even if the king's son has almost become a beast, he is still designated the son of the king.[78] The double-sided situation of the king's son reflects the Bernardine ambiguity between the loss of similitude and the retention of the image elsewhere expressed as follows:

> Unhappy man that I am, who will deliver me from the shame of this bondage? (cf. Rom 7.24) Unhappy I may be, but I am free. I am free because I am a man, unhappy because I am a slave. I am free because I am like God, unhappy because I am in opposition to God.[79]

The self-knowledge so fundamental in Bernard is aimed at the recognition of both of these aspects; but above all the demand for self-knowledge is associated with the acknowledgement that the dignity related to the image does not come from man but from God (Dil II.4).

Div 42 presents us with all the implications of *regio dissimilitudinis* as the locus associated with loss of likeness: the creature was created in *regio similitudinis*, but did not comprehend his own honour and had to descend from similitude to dissimilitude. These two regions are then compared in a extensive list of contrasts: Man has descended

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foeda et deformis iacuisset imago, si non evangelica illa mulier lucernam accenderet, id est Sapientia in carne appareret, everteret domum, videlicet vitiorum, drachmam suam requireret quam perdiderat, hoc est imaginem suam, quae nativo spoliata decore, sub pelle peccati sordens, tamquam in pulvere latitabat, inventam tergeret et tolleret de regione dissimilitudinis, pristinamque in speciem reformatam, similem faceret illam in gloria sanctorum, immo sibi ipsi per omnia redderet quandoque conformem […] Et revera cui potius id operis congruebat, quam Dei Filio, qui cum sit splendor et figura substantiae Patris […] munitus apparuit […]" Gra X.32; Winkler I: 218–220. O'Donovan's translation, 88. O'Donovan's parentheses.

[77] "Huiusmodi enim homines imagine Creatoris exuta, aliam induerunt imaginem terram respicientem, pecudalem, bestialem." William of Saint-Thierry, *De natura corporis et animae* II, PL 180.714.

[78] "[…] found the King's son in a deep dungeon." ("[…] in profundo carceris invenit filium regis […]") Par I.3; Winkler IV: 808. Casey's translation, 19.

[79] "Miser ego homo, quis me liberabit a calumnia huius pudendae servitutis? Miser, sed liber: liber quia homo, miser quia servus; liber quia similis Deo, miser quia contrarius Deo." SC 81.IV.9; Winkler VI: 592. Edmonds's translation, IV: 166.

from Paradise to hell, from angel to beast, from God to Devil. Furthermore a cursed conversion has taken place of glory into misery, of life into death, of peace into struggle in constant captivity. A damned descent from abundance into poverty, from freedom into slavery, from rest into labour. […] By this descent is it determined that man shall be born in sorrow, live in labour, and die in pain. Sinners are generated from sinners and generate sinners themselves, debtors are generated from debtors, the corrupted from the corrupt. […] We are a sinful race, a people of injustice, the worst seed, sinful children accumulating offences. […] We are wounded when entering the world, when dwelling in the world, when leaving the world.

Div 42's juxtaposition is summed up in a quotation from Sir 40.1: "[…] a heavy yoke is laid on the children of Adam, from the day they come forth from their mother's womb until the day they return to the mother of all living."[80] This equation between the yoke and *regio dissimilitudinis* is also implied in Par I's presentation of *regio dissimilitudinis* as the place where the king's son is enslaved and tied to the grindstone of sin. *Regio dissimilitudinis* is not only demarcated from the original bliss, but also the beatitudinal bliss is far removed from this lowly location. But transitions may occur. Thus in Ep 8.2, Bernard states "The good thief took this short way to salvation. On one and the same day he confessed his sin and was brought to glory, satisfied to use the cross as a short bridge from the state of otherness into the land of the living, from the filth of this life to the paradise of delights".[81]

"Regio dissimilitudinis est praesens vita". This is the statement with which Bernard in Sent III.91 fixes the region of unlikeness as the miser-

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[80] "Magna prorsus dissimilitudo, de paradiso ad infernum, de angelo ad iumentum, de Deo ad diabolum! Exsecranda conversio, gloriam in miseriam, vitam in mortem, pacem in pugnam perpetua captivitate convertere! Maledicta descensio, de divitiis ad paupertatem, de libertate ad servitutem, de requie ad laborem descendere! […] quibus datum est nasci in maerore, vivere in labore, in dolore mori. De peccatore peccatores, de debitore debitores, de corrupto corrupti, […] geniti et generantes sumus. Gens peccatrix, populus gravis iniquitate, semen pessimum, filii scelerati, addentes praevaricationem. […] Vulnerati sumus ingrediendo in mundum, conversando in mundo, exeundo de mundo […] GRAVE IUGUM EST SUPER FILIOS ADAM A DIE EXITUS DE VENTRE MATRIS EORUM USQUE IN DIEBUS SEPULTURAE IN MATREM OMNIUM (Sir 40.1)." Div 42.2; Winkler IX: 532–534.

[81] "Hoc salutis compendium sanctus ille latro consecutus est: uno eodemque die simul et confessus latrocinia, et introductus in gloriam, brevi quodam contentus ponte Crucis ad transigendum de regione dissimilitudinis in terram viventium et de luto faecis in paradisum voluptatis." Ep 8.2; Winkler II: 336. James's translation, 39. James renders *regio* as "state" thus emphasizing the dogmatic implications also addressed in his note to the term.

able pivot of the topography mapped in this text. The fact that the first of the five regions mentioned in the sentence is *regio dissimilitudinis* constitutes post-lapsarian desolation as the Bernardine point of orientation. Man must recognize that he is situated in *regio dissimilitudinis* and that in any quest from that place he is dependent on God.[82] In the words of SC 36.5, echoing *Confessiones* VII.10: "When a man thus takes stock of himself in the clear light of truth, he will discover that he lives in a region where likeness to God has been forfeited."[83] In each of these texts, *regio dissimilitudinis* is deployed as the "You are here". It is not simply equivalent with the world as the location of terrestrial life; rather it is the locale of the distortion of paradisiacal life. And only if man ponders this distortion will the true nature of present life as a region of unlikeness become apparent.

With Par I's introduction of *regio dissimilitudinis* we are presented with one of several designations applying to terrestrial carnality. Timmermann remarks that "Die Gleichsetzung der Fremde mit der 'regio dissimilitudinis' erfolgt parallel zu der mit Ägypten und Babylon, die in gleicher Weise auf das Leben in der Sünde verweisen können."[84] Nevertheless, the three locations imply three distinct worlds of connotations. Babylon and Egypt we shall come back to, here we shall focus on *regio dissimilitudinis*. This locus shares with *peregrinatio* and *exsilium* an implied negation. In the words of M. Ferguson, who discusses the implications of the Augustinian concept of *regio dissimilitudinis*: "The exile is defined negatively with reference to what he is not, his essence is determined by a *difference* portrayed as a lack."[85] Each of these significations is employed as a negation of Paradise; and each of them is thus at once a place in its own right and a place which is not-Paradise. *Regio dissimilitudinis*, peregrination, and exile all determine the terrestrial region as the

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[82] "For true knowledge is the recognition that we are mortal, frail and destined to fall; that we should weep and moan in this exile, this place of misery, this workhouse, this pilgrimage, this valley of tears." ("Vera namque scientia est, scire nos mortales et caducos et fragiles esse, et in hoc exsilio, in hoc loco miseriarum, in hoc ergastulo, in hac peregrinatione, in hac valle lacrimarum dolendum et lugendum esse." Sent III.126.3; Winkler IV: 742. Swietek's translation, 442.

[83] "Nonne ita se intuens clara luce veritatis, inveniet se in regione dissimilitudinis […]" SC 36.IV.5; Winkler V: 568. Walsh's translation, II: 178. In its lucid formulation, the translation dissolves somewhat both the Augustinian echo and the compactness of the sentence.

[84] Timmermann 1982, 189.

[85] Ferguson 1975, 843. Ferguson's italics.

converse of the paradisiacal homeland, the alienation in which man's condition is that of a stranger.

Having thus stressed the ontological inevitability of *regio dissimilitudinis* as the locus of post-lapsarian man, we must finally take note that this locus equally implies the significant fact that it may be entered and departed from. The region of unlikeness is the place where those people end up who are guided by their terrestrial cravings:

> Through these wrong modes of living or descents which we have discussed, the son left his father and went to a distant country. The first regimen or step involved the presumption of his own will, the second the ill-use of carnal enticements, and the third a blind desire for temporal goods. The first removes one from God, the second takes one even further away, and the third makes one very distant from him […] And the less natural things are to human beings and the more extraneous they are, the more wretchedly do they imprison one in that distant region of separation from God.[86]

In Sent III.91, Bernard says of life in *regio dissimilitudinis* that those who love this life too much are made very dissimilar from God and like the beasts.[87] Thus the dissimilitude comes into force in the absorption by terrestrial life. If man, however, relates to terrestrial life with contempt, conscious of its ephemeral and uncertain character, the world may yield a profit in the shape of *contemptus mundi* and the related ability to reject inconstant joys, which cause nothing but labour and sorrow. In other words, it is possible to leave the region of unlikeness. Thus the concluding words of Div 42's description of *regio dissimilitudinis* state: "The skilled negotiator […] shoulders his load, contempt for the world, and flees".[88] This departure is enacted in the monastic vocation. Therefore, even though she is steeped in the region of unlikeness, the bride is not utterly without hope: "What can be a clearer sign of her heavenly origin than that she retains a natural likeness to it in the land of unlikeness,

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[86] "Per dietas vel descensiones quas praemisimus, discessit a patre filius in regionem longinquam. Prima itaque dieta vel descensio est propriae voluntatis praesumptio; secunda carnalium illecebrarum abusio; tertia caeca temporalium ambitio. Prima facit remotum a Deo; secunda remotiorem; tertia remotissimum. […] Quanto enim sunt homini minus naturalia, immo extranea, tanto miserabilius captivant hominem in longinquam regionem dissimilitudinis." Sent III.94; Winkler IV: 558. Swietek's translation, 307. Swietek renders *regio dissimilitudinis* "the region of separation from God".

[87] Sent III.91.

[88] "Prudens ergo negotiator […] facit sarcinam suam mundi contemptum, et fugit." Div 42.3; Winkler IX: 536.

than that as an exile on earth she enjoys the glory of the celibate life, than that she lives like an angel in an animal body?"[89]

In short, when contrasting these different texts, it appears that *regio dissimilitudinis* is two interrelated things. On the one hand, it is the ontological state into which each man is born as an inherent consequence of the Fall. It is thus marked by heavy inevitability. *Regio dissimilitudinis* is the landscape outside the Garden of Eden into which Adam and Eve were exiled and expatriated, and this region is associated with the collective loss of the similitude to God in the Fall. On the other hand, *regio dissimilitudinis* is the landscape that people enter when they let their carnal desires rule, and the region is used as a designation of an individual matter of conduct and disposition. In this sense, *regio dissimilitudinis* is the confirmation of lapsarian sin. M. Diers says of the apparent dichotomy:

> Die Bedeutung von '*regio dissimilitudinis*' wechselt. Weist der zitierte Beleg die Mönche—trotz ihrer deutlich hervorgehobenen Stellung—noch als Teil des Landes der Unähnlichkeit aus, so gehören sie an anderer Stelle bereits einem dem Land der Unähnlichkeit übergeordneten Gebiet an.[90]

However, this does not necessarily mean that the sense of *regio dissimilitudinis* varies but rather that this region, and man's position within it, may be described from different angles. This region is where man finds himself in his distortion of the original pre-lapsarian state—and whenever this distortion is affirmed he thrusts himself further into it.

In Par I, *regio dissimilitudinis* is the location for the exchange of the king's son's status as son and heir with that as prisoner and draught animal. His quasi-bestial existence is represented in his eating the pods of the

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[89] "Quod evidentius caelestis insigne originis, quam ingenitam et in regione dissimilitudinis retinere similitudinem, gloriam caelibis vitae in terra et ab exsule usurpari, in corpore denique paene bestiali vivere angelum?" SC 27.IV.6; Winkler V: 418. Walsh's translation, II: 79.

[90] Diers 1991, 95. As a matter of drollery, this discussion of the region of unlikeness is concluded with reference to quite another age and medium. Courcelle exhibits a picture of Augustine in *regio dissimilitudinis* from an Italian MS with an excerpt from an *Officium S. Augustini* from the 15th century. The illustration shows Augustine sitting beneath a fig tree, behind him is a rock and a landscape with a curved way. This depiction of *regio dissimilitudinis* reflects a remarkable contrast to the depictions of the "tolle, lege" scene in the garden which all present cultural features in the shape of a hint (at least) of either walls or buildings and often with Alypius in sight. The region of unlikeness is 'nature' in the threatening and deserted version discussed in relation to the wanderings of the king's son. Courcelle 1963, appendix IV, pl. 8bis.

pigs and in his working at the grindstone. In other words, he enacts the enslavement of the free will, described by for instance *De gratia et libero arbitrio*. Recognition is the paramount means by which man may be released from *regio dissimilitudinis*. In the parable, this recognition is brought about by means of Fear. The scene in which Fear comes to release the king's son is grotesque; the son grins, fettered in the chains of evil habits. The chains of evil habits strike a particularly horrendous note in the light of Hum XXI.51–XXII.56 where habitual sin is depicted as the twelfth and worst degree of pride. The son is no longer an exile in *regio dissimilitudinis*; he is going native.

The gap between *regio dissimilitudinis* and the next locus, the castle of Wisdom, is crossed by means of auxiliary virtues, primarily Fear and Hope. In other words, in contrast to the crossing of the boundary of Paradise, the son plays no active part in this transition. This may suggest a predominance of grace over free will in this rendering of the turning away from evil. The idea of the need for human consent to both good and evil, expressed in Gra XI.37, can in fact only be inferred from the circumstances of the son's departure from Paradise. Both the capture made by the old robber and the release brought about by Fear and Hope are enacted without his express approval. It is stressed that even when the king's son and his escort of virtues have left *regio dissimilitudinis* they are still not safe from the enemy, who is likely to position himself where two or three ways meet (*in biviis, in triviis*), that is, when man has to make a choice.[91] Cross-roads are points of intense crisis.

7. *Leaving* regio dissimilitudinis

The arrival of Fear and Hope in the prison is a turning point in the parable. It is Hope that inspires the king's son with the prodigal son's idea that he return to his father and become his *mercenarius*. In this decision, the king's son not only converges with his biblical type (*quanti mercenarii patris mei abundant panibus*, Lk 15.17), he also steps into the second step of the Bernardine stages of love, that of the mercenary (Dil XIII.36). This is a progression compared to the slavish fear briefly hinted at, perhaps, by the dejection Fear causes in the parable, a theme to be further explored in Par II. It is, however, a degradation

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[91] The *bivium* topos gained iconographical momentum from 12th century onwards, Harms 1970, see also Ladner 1959, 266, note 112.

compared to the filial love that was his point of departure. Nevertheless, the aim that Hope sets before his eyes is not of a mercenary satiety but of regaining his father's house and the chamber of her who gave birth to him (*domus patris tui* […] *cubiculum genitricis tuae*, Song 3.4). His reinstallation in the filial relationship is foreshadowed.

With the arrival of Hope, the king's son is changed, if only gradually, from *peregrinus* to *viator*. Accordingly, from now on the parable is focused on establishing a way by which the son may return to his father. Of this way it is said that the enemies are not positioned on the way but by the way (*non sunt in intinere, sed iuxta iter*) and that the company should keep to the way of Justice (*tenete via Iustitiae*) which will quickly bring them to the castle of Wisdom. This straight way is set off by the previous wanderings of the son; the two motifs are archetypical contrasts. In Par I, progress along the way is a compound matter reflected in the interaction between the virtues: "Fear added urgency. Hope attracted. Fortitude strengthened. Temperance controlled. Prudence kept watch and gave instructions. Justice led and directed."[92] First and foremost, it is the interaction between Fear and Hope that is generative. This motivation may also be symbolized by whip and spurs, for instance phrased in the negative in one of Bernard's characteristic puns; the careless people "have neither spurs nor whips nor any instrument of this kind; instead they carry a canopy for shade and a fan to freshen the air."[93]

This may be a good place to recall the general tension between the Bernardine stress on restless progression and straight linearity on the one side, and his many textual diversions and digressions on the other. It is noteworthy that one of the significant differences between, say, the corpus on the Song and the parables is the *ductus*. Several references have been made to the ways in which the sermons allegedly aspire to straightforward headway, yet unravel in meanders not wholly unlike those of the Israelites identified by Egeria. The presumably inclusive audience of the parables, however, have not yet outgrown linearity. The impetus of these texts is restlessly and purposefully progressive.

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[92] "[…] urget Timor, Spes trahit, munit Fortitudo, Temperantia moderatur, providet et instruit Prudentia, ducit et perducit Iustitia." Par I.5; Winkler IV: 812. Casey's translation, 22.

[93] "Hi calcaria minime habent, neque flagella, vel aliquid huiusmodi; sed pro his utuntur conopeo ad faciendam umbram, et flabello ad citandum ventum." SC 39.III.7; Winkler VI: 58. Walsh's translation II: 197.

An important implication of the travel along the straight way as well as the condition of the *viator* is brought out in the parable when Wisdom greets the king's son on the way as he approaches her camp. This incident stresses the fact that this way is not travelled alone: the wayfarer will meet with God-given sustenance and comfort, and these will draw him forwards. Similarly, the last section of the way, between the castle of Wisdom and the heavenly palace, is travelled only with the aid of Love.

8. *The castle of Wisdom*

The castle of Wisdom is illustrated in typical vein with the different parts of the edifice expounded allegorically. The shields on the wall echo the topos of the tower of David from Song 4.4.[94] And as the king's son is carried into the castle in Wisdom's arms, he is borne straight into a stronghold arrayed in biblical manner, complete with David and the companions of the heavenly court. He seems to be at home. Furthermore, as Rochais points out, the allegorical values of each of the architectural features are significantly monastic in character; the moat of humility (*fossa humilitatis*), walls of obedience (*murus oboedientiae*), and gate of profession (*porta professionis*).[95] And as the king's son draws nearer to the castle, he does indeed seem to approach his monastic vocation, or perhaps rather a crystallization of monastic profession.

What does the castle of Wisdom signify? Basically it points to a position of apparent monastically tinged refuge amidst dangers and attacks from vices. When considered from an exterior point of view, this is the monastery offering protection from carnal vices within the overall soteriological history of mankind. From an internal monastic point of view, this is the position where there seems to be a lull in the most critical hostilities with carnality. The parable then describes the anatomy of the trials of a monk: maybe even one singular trial among many. In this version, it is not the will of mankind, but rather the individual will of a single monk who wanders off and leaves behind the demands of God in order to follow his own ways. As the third parable

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[94] NRSV: "[…] your neck is like the tower of David, built in courses; on it hang a thousand bucklers, all of them shields of warriors."; Vulgate: "sicut turris David collum tuum quae aedificata est cum propugnaculis mille clypei pendent ex ea omnis armatura fortium".

[95] Rochais 1962, 36.

shows, this does not necessarily mean that the monk gives way to carnal vices on a grand and corporeal scale. Monastic sin may be of a much less spectacular kind, for instance the wish to stand out ascetically or an insufficient subordination to the communal life of the monastery. The important point of both the micro- and macro-cosmological level is the fact that one is never safe from the enemy, neither behind the walls of the monastery, nor at a spiritual stage where the immediate trials may seem to have ceased. The soldier of Christ must always be prepared for the next attack. Casey states that

> with God's help the virtues accomplish their task and the young man seems safe and there is much rejoicing. It is precisely at this stage, when all are beginning to rest on a plateau of complacency that the major testing begins.[96]

9. *Egypt: The topos of sin that comes back*

Then Pharaoh approaches from the North, the direction from which evil comes, according to Jer 1.14.[97] In Par IV, as we shall see, the parabolic Pharaoh is loyal to his biblical model, who lets the Israelites go only to change his mind and detain them (Ex 8.8–14.30). The Pharaoh of Par I however appears quite abruptly on the stage. He nevertheless plays his stock character; that of evil reclaiming the protagonist. And the parable rehearses the apparently ever valid topos of horror: the return of an evil that was thought to have been destroyed once and for all. In this case, Pharaoh has even allied himself with the people conspiring against Israel in Ps 82.5–12. It is only a short time before the walls of the castle are falling down, and all is destruction and desolation.

Heller states that when Bernard includes a biblical reference, "Der ursprüngliche biblische Kontext spielt keine Rolle mehr",[98] a view corroborated by Lubac who says of Bernard that he "arrache les textes à leur contexte. Il se les approprie. Le résultat est admirable."[99] It may, however, be argued that not all biblical references have been stripped of their original context. Especially biblical persons such as Pharaoh, Moses, David, and Nebuchadnezzar seem to have become crystallized

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[96] Casey 1983a, 17.
[97] NRSV: "Out of the north disaster shall break out on all the inhabitants of the land."; Vulgate: "ab aquilone pandetur malum super omnes habitatores terrae".
[98] Heller 1990b, 115.
[99] Lubac 1959, II: 586.

into almost iconographic shapes, in which traces of their original story are present in reinterpreted versions. Thus, in short, basically David sings and reigns in Jerusalem, Moses crosses the Red Sea and governs the Israelites, and Pharaoh pursues the Israelites when they consider themselves safe and meets his death in the Red Sea owing to divine intervention.

The key implication of Egypt is thus that it is a location from which it is difficult to break loose. There are two sides to this bond, both of them rooted in the Exodus narrative. The first is the one touched upon in this parable: Egypt sets out after the prey who has escaped, indicating that the devil persists. This aspect relates to the crossing of the Red Sea, Ex 14, and is implied in both Par I and II where Pharaoh attacks the fugitive company as soon as they think themselves safe in the castles of Wisdom and Justice respectively.

The second aspect is related to the complaints of the Israelites against Moses and Aaron in Ex 16.2–3:[100] the topos of *murmur* (*et murmuravit omnis congregatio filiorum Israhel contra Mosen et contra Aaron in solitudine*, Ex 16.2). With this context in mind, it is, presumably, of no small consequence when Bernard says of the effects of his strictness on his cousin Robert: "Hence your grumbles against me (as I remember) while you were here […]".[101] The *murmur* of the Israelites recur several times in the Pentateuch, for instance in Num 16.11: the Levite Korah, accompanied by two hundred and fifty Israelites, accuses Moses of exalting himself above his people. Moses retaliates, claiming that Korah's company stand against the Lord (*stet contra Dominum*) and that Korah murmurs against Aaron (*murmuretis contra eum*). To be brief, the Lord makes the ground open, and it swallows Korah, his fellows Dathan and Abiram, and their families (Num 16.23–35). This is an incident retained with Bernardine vigour in another instance of monastic defiance. In a letter addressed to the Cistercian abbots on account of Cistercian monks who want to join the crusade:

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[100] NRSV: "The whole congregation of the Israelites complained against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness. The Israelites said to them, 'If only we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the fleshpots and ate our fill of bread.'" See moreover Acts 7.39, NRSV: "Our ancestors were unwilling to obey him [Moses]; instead, they pushed him aside, and in their hearts they turned back to Egypt."; Vulgate: "cui noluerunt oboedire patres nostri sed reppulerunt et aversi sunt cordibus suis in Aegyptum".

[101] "Hinc enim et praesens quondam adversum me, quantum memini, murmurare solebas […]" Ep 1.2; Winkler II: 244. James's translation, 2. James's parenthesis.

I have learned from the report of many that certain brethren are grumbling against you, and that they have scorned our holy way of life and are trying to mix themselves in the turmoil of the world. How is their case different from Abiron and Dathan who, while grumbling against Moses, were swallowed up by the earth, except that they are buried by their earthly desires?[102]

The aspect of murmuring is interlaced with the idea of returning to Egypt in the heart; the crucial and latent danger of monastic relapse. In Bernard's words: "For we have read about the sons of Israel, that they returned to Egypt in their hearts. For returning in body was prevented by the Red Sea, closing behind their ankles."[103] This passage refers both to Egypt as a figure for the riches of the world which have to be left by means of penitence, and to the Red Sea as a representation of the monastic vocation. A similar idea is expressed in Ded 1.2: "You see for yourself, I believe, how many miracles we would find, if we were allowed to scrutinize in each single [monk] his exodus from Egypt, his way through the desert, that is the renunciation of the world, and his entry into the monastery and monastic life."[104]

In the biblical reception, the Pharaonic pursuit and the yearning of the Israelites are connected. It is Pharaoh, the Devil, who makes the "Israelites" turn to Egypt in their hearts. Therefore he is constantly busy. In SC 39, in an interpretation of the chariots of Pharaoh of Song 1.8, Pharaoh is depicted as a mighty warlord in charge of an army of vices. A passage from this sermon sums up the figure of Pharaoh:

[…] trusting in the prowess of these captains and their chariots, the invisible Pharaoh rushes to and fro, inspired by a tyrannical rage, as he directs his attacks with all the power he can muster against the entire

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[102] "Murmurationes quorumdam fratrum vestrorum contra vos multorum relatu novimus et ipsi ex parte audivimus quod, spreto conversationis sanctissimae proposito, tumultuanti saeculo se infligere contendunt. Quid est aliud quod Abiron et Dathan murmurantes contra Moysen absorpti sunt a terra, nisi mentes talium desideriis terrenorum esse defossas?" Ep 544; Winkler III: 1038. James's translation, 468–469.

[103] "Legimus enim de filiis Israel, quia corde redierunt in Aegyptum. Nam corpore reverti, clausum post eorum talos Rubrum mare prohibebat." QH 3.5; Winkler VII: 526. Also in VI p Pent 1.1, Bernard warns against losing faith while waiting for the Lord and returning to the Egypt of this world in heart or in body.

[104] "Ipsi, credo, videtis quanta iam possemus invenire miracula, si perscrutari singillatim liceret singulorum exitum de Aegypto, et deserti viam, id est abrenuntiationem saeculi, introitum monasterii, in monasterio conversationem." Ded 1.2; Winkler VIII: 812.

family of God. Even in these very days he is persecuting the people of Israel as they escape from Egypt.[105]

10. *The heavenly palace:* Reformatio in melius

The last section of the way of the parable is travelled by Prayer. The king's son himself cannot travel the distance before he is led by Love. Prayer is thus the human action by virtue of which chaotic hardships cease, a point made thus by Cassian:

> The whole purpose of the monk and the perfection of the heart aim at a continual and undisrupted perseverance in prayer. And as far as this is granted to human frailty, so far does it exert itself towards unalterable tranquillity of mind and perpetual purity […][106]

Cassian's juxtaposition of prayer and unalterable tranquillity of mind suggests that perseverance in prayer prevents the wanderings of the thoughts, which is in accordance with the parable's plot that ultimately, it is Prayer that stops both the fighting and the wandering.

When this section of the way is travelled, the son is restored as son and *civis* in his *patria*. Thus, the narrative has reached a full circle—or has it? In order to answer the question about the relationship between the Paradise at the beginning of the parable and God's city at its conclusion, some remarks must be proposed concerning the structure of progression expressed in this parable. It is significant that the parable is extended between the departure and the return of the king's son. The return differs from that of the prodigal son insofar as, when returning to his father, this son does not move back to the homeland he once left: instead he continues forwards. While differing from the pattern of the prodigal son, this point, not surprisingly, follows that of the Exodus wandering.

This apparent dichotomy of the two *patriae* of the parable appears only at a literal level. It is aimed at describing the vivid figurative and associative, positive and negative exchange between the topos of Paradise and that of Jerusalem. On the one hand, the celestial city is

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[105] "In istorum itaque principum fortitudine curruumque suorum, invisibilis Pharaoh ubique discurrens, in omnem familiam Domini, quibus potest viribus, more tyrannico debacchatur, in his, etiam diebus his, exeuntem Israel de Aegypto insequitur." SC 39.IV.9; Winkler VI: 60. Walsh's translation, II: 197–198.

[106] "Omnis monachi finis cordisque perfectio ad iugem atque indisruptam orationis perseuerantiam tendit, et quantum humanae fragilitati conceditur, ad inmobilem tranquillitatem mentis ac perpetuam nititur puritatem […]" *Collatio* IX.2, 40.

the topos of the restoration of the order of creation that was lost in the Fall. On the other hand, in this city a restoration is brought about in which the state that was to be restored is transcended. The restoration in the heavenly Jerusalem is related to the re-creation in incarnation rather than to creation itself. Man's potential share in celestial beatitude was lost in the Fall. But the incarnation is the turning point that makes heavenly beatitude once more accessible. This second creation is more radical than the first, demanding the son of God rather than just his word:

> About everything which is in heaven or beneath heaven, he spoke and it was made. And what is easier than to speak? But was it achieved with one word alone when he re-created you whom he had created? Thirty-three years was he seen on earth and dwelled with human beings, and he had false accusers against his deeds, assailants against his words, and he had nowhere where he could lay his head. Why is that? Because the Word had descended from his excellence and assumed a coarser cloaking.[107]

Besides stressing the comparison between God's giving himself in the creation and God's giving his son in the incarnation, this passage, taking its point of departure in a reference to Mt 8.20,[108] points to the Word as a stranger on earth. The main point, however, is that creation and incarnation relate to each other as an evolution of grace. The relative inferiority of Paradise compared to heaven is moreover indicated in Gra 30, which states that the free counsel (*liberum concilium*) and the free pleasure (*liberum complacitum*), both attached to the similarity with God, and both dispensed by God, "were possessed in slight measure on earth, more generously in paradise, fully in heaven, and not at all in hell."[109]

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[107] "De omnibus quae in caelo et sub caelo sunt, dixit, et facta sunt. Et quid facilius dictu? Sed numquid solo verbo factum est, cum te quem fecerat refecit? Triginta et tribus annis super terram visus et cum hominibus conversatus, etiam habuit in factis calumniatores, in dictis insidiatores, non habens ubi caput suum reclinaret. Quare hoc? Quia Verbum a sua subtilitate descenderat, et grossius acceperat indumentum." IV HM 13; Winkler VIII: 200.

[108] NRSV: "Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head."

[109] "[…] in terris modice, in caelestibus plenarie, mediocriter in paradiso, apud inferos nullatenus habeantur […]" Gra IX.30; Winkler I: 216. O'Donovan's translation, 86. According to Ladner, Tertullian is the first to employ the concept of *reformatio in melius* thus investing *reformatio* with a progressive direction rather than considering it as a matter of change or return, Ladner 1959, 134. However, it is in Augustine that this

Thus the homeland that the *peregrinus* has left is surpassed by the homeland that the *viator* reaches in the end. It seems rather pointless to discuss at length whether the arrival of the son in the heavenly palace is an example of the beatific vision of God (and therefore does not occur till after his death) or rather a limited vision (which is a possibility in this life). I shall argue briefly that when considered in the macro-cosmological light, this arrival may be viewed as the beatific vision in which the will of man evaporates into the will of God.[110] And that the micro-cosmological light displays the arrival either as a singular preliminary beatitude as the half-hour of the bride in the chamber of the groom[111] or, what seems more probable, more generally as the reconstitution of the monk as having attained the true monastic disposition. In this last case the monk is considered as a *civis* of the heavenly Jerusalem, even if he is still in his terrestrial body. This is made possible by the identification of the monastery with Jerusalem.

11. *Topographical plot*

Par I is at once an allegorical interpretation of the Genesis narrative and the parable of the prodigal son, and a more self-contained representation of different points related to spiritual progression and detention. The parable brings about an interaction between different spaces of cognition, different topographical stratifications, and different literary frameworks.

First, the parable presents a composite paraphrase of the biblical narrative of lapse and salvation, condensed in the Genesis narrative of creation and Fall and the New Testament parable of the prodigal son, with an echo of the Exodus narrative. This narrative deals with the collective fall and progression towards the heavenly Jerusalem, the great biblical scheme in which both the space and time of the world are encompassed. The topography in which this level of the plot takes place is the world. The actor situated in this *Aktionsraum* is 'Adam', seen as representative of humankind living through and experiencing the history of salvation as described in the Bible. The topoi constituting his *Aktionsraum* are Paradise, the post-lapsarian region of dissimilitude, the

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idea is unfolded as a movement away from the post-lapsarian dissimilitude related to Pauline ideas of the renewal of man in Christ. Ladner 1959, 42–61.

[110] Dil X.28.

[111] Hum VII.21.

monastery, and the heavenly Jerusalem. On this level, the monastery represents in abstract manner some kind of dissolution of the region of dissimilitude.

Second, the parable proposes a tale of the moral struggles of each and every human being. In this tale, the topographical *Aktionsraum* is the space of each life and the different *bivia* that man comes across in his life. The castle of Wisdom represents the realization of dependence on God enacted in monastic vocation, on the basis of which a dispatch of prayer may be forwarded to God. The actor in this space is each human being. This stratum is focused on a topography containing the region of clear conscience, the region of terrestrial concerns, the region of complete dependence on sin, the monastery in which the relations between virtues and vices are at last fully unravelled, and eventually the return to the realm of love.

Third and finally, Par I presents the interior cognitive micro-cosmos of each monk situated within the monastery. In this connection, the plot is enacted in a topography entirely interior, and the actor is the soul or the disposition. Seen from this point of view, the parable reveals the interior of the monk as a chaos of forces in battle, extended between the obedience towards the father, the consecutive disobedience, the restless wandering of the thoughts, the total capture of the thoughts or disposition by sin, the gradual liberation by means of virtue, by which the soul is brought to a provisional refuge where it may dissociate itself sufficiently to pray, thereby, as Cassian maintains, obtaining an interior order and peace through the grace of love. This is especially emphasized by the contrast between the anxiety and confusion in the castle of Wisdom caused by Pharaoh, and the harmony established by the arrival of Love. Thus, the entire progression of this first parable presents the struggles, the ups and downs of a monastic mortification in which at last all fear, pain, and despair are conquered through the prayer of the monk and, primarily, through the love of God.

At a spiritual level the parable adds its own significant mark to each of the strata mentioned. The notion of *regio dissimilitudinis* spreads, so to speak, to the other topoi the Bernardine doctrine of man's creation in the image and likeness of God. Accordingly, Paradise appears to be the region in which everything is still 'in order', and the relationship between father and son and heir is intact, *regio dissimilitudinis* is the climax of a process of 'dissimilitudinization' initiated when the son leaves his original home; in this region of unlikeness man is almost a beast and the connection with the father has been stretched to an

extent that makes it seem an exceedingly thin thread. The 'return' to the heavenly palace is the climax of a process of 'similitudinization', begun with Fear's arrival in the prison, reaching an anticipatory peak in the sojourn in the castle of Wisdom. It seems that the parable 'works' on each of these levels—and all of these levels.[112]

In short, seen from a topographical point of view, this parable centres on a range of key issues: the adopted son and *civis* as opposed to the *peregrinus*, the *viator* as opposed to the *peregrinus*, and finally the different and contrasting features of Paradise, *regio dissimilitudinis*, and celestial Jerusalem, with the monastery hovering both as a locus in the parable itself and more indefinitely as the general frame by which the others are encompassed.

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[112] On the comprehensive nature of medieval *significatio*, see Ladner 1979, 226.

PARABOLA II, DE CONFLICTU DUORUM REGUM

I. *Summary*

1. "Between Babylon and Jerusalem there is no peace, but continuing war. Each state has its king: Christ the Lord is the king of Jerusalem, and the Devil is the king of Babylon".[1] The king of Babylon constantly draws towards Babylon as many citizens from Jerusalem as he can by means of his servants the unclean spirits. When once the spirit of Compassion saw from the walls of Jerusalem that one of his fellow citizens (*unum de concivibus suis*) was dragged away, he went to the king of Jerusalem who sent out Fear. And Fear scared the enemy with the blast of his voice and brought the citizen with him. But one of the enemies, Sadness, offered to stand at the bend of the road, pretending to be a friend of Fear; he took a shortcut, overtook Fear on the road, and began to talk with him. Fear followed him in good faith. But the guard saw from the walls what was going on and told the king. The king now sent out his soldier Hope with the horse of desire and the sword of happiness. Hope rescued his fellow citizen and seated him on the horse.

2. In Babylon a council was held to find out how to bring the lost captive back. One warrior proposed to transform himself into an angel of light and deceive those who do not know the way and who are "like strangers and pilgrims" (*tamquam advenas et peregrinos*, 1 Pet 2.11.). From Jerusalem the guards saw the citizen approaching on the horse which was going much too fast and further off the enemy following at a distance.

3. The king sent forth Prudence and Temperance to take care of the horse. Temperance gave it the bridle of discretion and told Hope to proceed at a more moderate pace. Prudence placed on it the saddle of caution, and the rider was supported from behind by the confession of past sins, in front by the meditation of judgement, to the left he leaned on patience, to the right on humility.

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[1] "Inter Babylonem et Ierusalem nulla est pax, sed guerra continua. Habet unaquaeque civitas regem suum. Rex Ierusalem Christus Dominus est, rex Babylonis Diabolus." Par II.1; Winkler IV: 818. Casey's translation, 32.

4. But when night came, the enemies assembled to attack the party. Prudence drew attention to the imminence of night, "if you walk in the darkness, you do not know where you are going" (Jn 12.35) and the length of the road ahead of them. Reason then took them all to the castle of Justice, a most strong habitation (*firmissimum habitaculum*) built on rock. They were cordially received and taken to the innermost part of the house.

5. The hostile army followed them and besieged the castle, searching all over for an access. They arranged their tents around the castle and waited for dawn, planning to break the walls with their siege-engines. Justice said: "the position of this place is rocky and inaccessible, but it is dry and there are only a few inhabitants feeding on barley bread. And there are only five loaves of barley bread and two fish left for us."

6. Prudence suggested that a message be sent to the king, but Fear objected: "There is darkness on earth, we do not know the way, and we are in a distant land". Then Justice asserted that Prayer would be able to penetrate the mysteries of heaven. So Prayer was let out of a secret exit in the wall. He went through the siege lines of the enemy and in a moment stood at the gates of the city of the new Jerusalem. He knocked at the door but the door-keeper was reluctant to allow him to disturb the king. However, Prayer persevered and eventually woke up the king who said to his soldiers: "The voice of the turtle dove is heard in our land" (Song 2.12).

7. So Prayer, the messenger of Justice, was led to the king. And he presented his case; "My land is in the south, it is dry and has no nourishment, if my Lord were to bless it, it would yield its fruit, furthermore we are surrounded by enemies in great number." The king was moved to tears and Love offered to go. So she left together with her noble escort, her personal family of virtues, and progressed as a leader certain of victory. With raised banner of triumph she passed by the first and second guard of the enemy. Then she came to the gate, and it opened by itself to let her enter. At her entry an exceedingly great joy arose. The joy scared the hostile army outside, "There comes to our ears the sound of rejoicing in the camp of Israel" (Ex 14.25). They understood that God was fighting on the side of their enemies and they fled.

Love, however, wanted to pursue the enemy, so her whole army went after the fleeing Babylonians, and they were destroyed. Temperance killed a thousand and Prudence ten thousand. Fear killed a thousand but Love killed ten thousand (1 Sam 18.7).

II. *Discussion*

1. *Setting*

Par II is set in two scenarios: the first implies Jerusalem, Babylon, and the battlefield between them, the second the besieged castle of Justice and the new Jerusalem. The parable is launched on a note of generality constituting the basic enmity between Babylon and Jerusalem. Against this ontological foil, the narrative unrolls as a case history, the particularity of which is indicated by the shift in the sixth line from the present tense, which states the basic belligerent situation of all times, to the past tense in the narration of this specific incident.

As the editorial fate of the parables shows, this parable is similar to Par I in its general interest in *pugna spiritualis*; and in terms of virtues and castles, horses and bridles, this parable offers a repetition of the first. The colouring, however, is quite different. Rather more stylized in character than Par I, Par II draws less on the narrative qualities of its biblical patterns and instead seems to linger with a range of graphic tableaux such as Fear deceptively accosted by Sadness, the strain on the castle of Justice: famine within and enemies without, and Prayer persevering at the gates of the new Jerusalem. Also the topographical outline of this parable is quite dissimilar from that of the first. Basically, Par II leaves out the whole issue of creation and thereby the topos of Paradise. But, as we shall see, the audience does not need to forgo the Fall. The parable moreover offers a new topographical focus in its zoom onto the continuous pillaging, and campaigns of rescue, oscillating between the two cities.

Finally, this parable has another anthropological tenor than the first. Whereas Par I treats family relations, paternal education, inheritance, and so forth, and only gradually develops into a war story, Par II is a tale of the front line from the very outset. Also the gallery of figures differs. The central figure now is the Jerusalemite snatched away in the first passage; remaining anonymous, he evades the intense focus on the king's son in Par I. This Jerusalemite is called nothing but a *civis* throughout, and his role consists first and foremost in being handled, captured, rescued, put on a horse, and so on by a wide array of virtues and vices. It is to these, in fact, that individuality primarily belongs. First and foremost is Fear, who undergoes a significant development in the course of the parable and thus becomes the real protagonist. Furthermore, the parable introduces the *speculator* Compassion, who

from the walls of Jerusalem notes and comments on the action on the battlefield. He is a sideline commentator; observer and actor in one.

Topographically speaking, this parable seems to be more attentive to liminal zones and points of transition than both I and III, and in the discussion we shall consider more thoroughly the question of gaps and boundaries of the spiritual topography.

2. *Babylon and Jerusalem*

Par II is launched on a mythological scale: *Inter Babylonem et Ierusalem nulla est pax, sed guerra continua*. It draws on a quite particular biblical context and offers an elaboration of 2 Kings 25[2] inlaid with numerous other texts and contexts. The biblical story relates how King Nebuchadnezzar brought his army against Jerusalem; the city fortified itself against the Babylonians, but after a long siege a famine broke out. A breach was made in the wall, and King Zedekiah fled through it with all his soldiers. However, they were overcome by the Babylonian army and the king was brought to Babylon as a captive. Par II presents a reinterpretation of this story. The regal antithesis between Zedekiah and Nebuchadnezzar of 2 Kings has been replaced by the juxtaposition of Christ and the Devil. Thus a gigantic opposition is evoked, smacking of Augustinian antitheses:

> Because there is one city and one city, one people and one people, a king and a king. What is that: one city and one city? Babylon is one, Jerusalem is one […] this one with the Devil as king, that one with Christ as king.[3]

Jerusalem is moreover indirectly present through allusions to King David in the beginning and at the end of the parable. There is the sentinel on the wall (*speculator super muros Ierusalem*) who may recall the sentinel on the wall of 2 Sam 18.24 (*speculator qui erat in fastigio portae super murum*) who in the war between David and Absalom keeps King David abreast of people approaching outside the gates, just as Compassion is constantly keeping his king—and the audience—up to date on the latest developments. It is also David's success on the battlefield that is recalled in the final triumphal note from 1 Sam 18.7. Only in Par III, however, is David actually given charge of the Jerusalemite army.

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[2] IV Rg 25 in Vulgate. See also 2 Chr 36.11–21 and 2 Par 36.11–21 in Vulgate.

[3] "[…] quia una ciuitas et una ciuitas, unus populus et unus populus, rex et rex. Quid est: una ciuitas et una ciuitas? Babylonia una; Ierusalem una […] illa rege diabolo, ista rege Christo." Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 61.6; X.2: 776–777.

Bernard's manifold expositions of the tension between Babylon and Jerusalem display another version of that equivocality which we already met with regard to *regio dissimilitudinis*. On the one hand, the differentiation between the two cities designates the inevitable post-lapsarian contrast between homeland and exile. This is a point of view for instance rehearsed in SC 33 with its longing for celestial peace and pasture. In this understanding, Babylon and Jerusalem are two successive regions. Man is a *peregrinus* within a Babylonian region longing for the unattainable Jerusalemite homeland. His plight is described in sympathetic mode, aimed at strengthening the recognition of post-lapsarian alienation in the Bernardine application of "know yourself", yet mitigating this alienation by means of hope and a contemplative anticipation.

On the other hand, the distinction between the two cities points to an intra-terrestrial choice between two co-ordinate possibilities of identification. In his way of life, man must constantly seek Jerusalem and shun Babylon. This version is described in a much more aggressive mode, aimed at distinction, choice, and ascetic estrangement from carnality. Par II represents that kind of discourse. In both versions, however, the oscillating point of view and definition through contrasts is important to our understanding of the two cities. One never exists without the other. This parable attests to the impossibility of a Jerusalemite life without a Babylonian threat on the horizon. This is also the situation in the monastery:

> This house, brothers, is the city of the eternal king, but it is besieged by enemies. Therefore all of us who have sworn by its arms and dedicated ourselves to its military service should know that it takes a triple provision to guard this place: fortification, arms, and sustenance.[4]

The representation of the battle between Jerusalem and Babylon in some ways works similarly to that of *Psychomachia*. The interior ascetic battle is exhibited in an exterior and elaborate setting where intertwined dispositions of the soul have been spelled out as different loci and characters, in this case the virtuous and vicious citizens of Jerusalem and Babylon respectively. But, as Jauss notes, the *bellum* is no longer completely *intestinum*.[5] The role played by confession points to more out-

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[4] "Domus haec, fratres, aeterni Regis est oppidum, sed obsessum ab inimicis. Quotquot igitur in ipsius arma iurati sumus et eius militiae dedimus nomina, triplici nobis opus esse noverimus apparatu ad custodiam castri huius: munitione videlicet, et armis, et alimentis." Ded 3.1; Winkler VIII: 828.

[5] Jauss 1960, 198–201.

ward endeavours as well, and the Jerusalemite propped up on his horse
is at once the stage of the fight and participant in it, albeit a passive and
speechless one.

There is reason to believe that Bernard considers the antithesis between
the two armies a particularly informative way of displaying the interior
struggle. In SC 39, he elaborates on the meaning of the chariots of
Pharaoh from Song 1.8, and makes excuses for those who already
understand what he is saying from their own experience; "wisdom […]
is pleased with a teacher who is kind and diligent, who, despite his
anxiety to gratify his intelligent students, does not hesitate to adapt
himself to the backward ones."[6] Hereafter Bernard proceeds to the
exposition:

> But now let us take a look at the comparison drawn from Pharaoh
> and his army and the horsemen of the Lord. The comparison is not
> between the two armies, they are merely the basis of it. For light and
> darkness have nothing in common, the faithful no partnership with the
> unfaithful. But there is a clear comparison between the person who is
> holy and spiritual and the horsemen of the Lord, and between Pharaoh
> and the devil and both their armies. And do not be surprised that
> one person is compared to a company of horsemen, for if that one
> person is holy an army of virtues is at hand: well-ordered affections,
> disciplined habits, prayers like burnished weapons, actions charged with
> energy, awesome zeal, and finally unrelenting conflicts with the enemy
> and repeated victories.[7]

As Bernard is keen to stress in the sermon, the similitude of this juxta-
position is not between the two armies but between a person and one
of the armies. The interpretative axes, as it were, run both along the
antithesis between the armies and along the relation between each of

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[6] "[…] placet illi doctor benignus et diligens, qui ita cupiat satisfacere studiosis, ut
morem gerere tardioribus non recuset." SC 39.I.3; Winkler VI: 54. Walsh's translation,
II: 193–194.

[7] "Sed vide iam similitudinem de Pharaone et exercitu eius, et Domini equi-
tatu. Non inter ipsos exercitus similitudo data est, sed de ipsis. QUAE enim SOCIETAS
LUCI AD TENEBRAS, AUT QUAE PARS FIDELIS CUM INFIDELI? (cf. 2 Cor 6.14–15) Sed inter
sanctam spiritualemque animam et equitatum Domini plane comparatio est, et inter
Pharaonem et diabolum amborumque exercitus. Nec miraberis unam animam equi-
tatus multitudini similatam, si advertas quantae in ipsa una, quae tamen sancta anima
sit, virtutum acies habeantur: quanta in affectionibus ordinatio, quanta in moribus dis-
ciplina, quanta in orationibus armatura, quantum in actionibus robur, quantus in zelo
terror, quanta denique ipsi cum hoste conflictuum assiduitas, numerositas triumpho-
rum." SC 39.II.4; Winkler VI: 54. Walsh's translation, II: 194.

the armies and the type of person that shares its primary characteristics. This comes as no surprise, but nevertheless points to the parabolic range of the war between Babylon and Jerusalem. Contrary to the homiletic interpretation of the chariots of Pharaoh which follows the passage just quoted, the parable does not offer one-to-one expositions of its different features. A variety of motifs are displayed in Par II: some of them are elaborated, others just laid out; some of them implied in the blunt drama of the war itself, others embedded in layers of analogy. Compared to the similitude of SC 39, this parable is thus at once revelatory in its narrative accessibility and labyrinthine in that very same narrative shrouding.

3. *Soldiers of Christ*

The first part depicts the diabolic warfare in all its different guises, from the citizen who is first dragged off by force to the sly amicability of Sadness. The spiritual battle is a recurrent issue in the parables. Both Par II and III present the kings of Babylon and Jerusalem at war, and I, IV, V, and VI report aspects of this war.

Needless to say, the military setting offers a rich epic reservoir of vigorous and dramatic figures and configurations which fits well with the parabolic project. But the comprehensive employment of soldiery in a monastic ABC such as the parables has wider connotations. Just as the nuptial vocabulary permeates depictions of the more sophisticated aspects of monastic life, the military language may be considered the master-trope of its basics; the ascetic labours, the constant struggle to alienate oneself from the world, the fight against the flesh—in whatever guise.[8] The soldier's tent is the first and fundamental one in the ascending figure of tent, court, and house. And the military language is general and inclusive, capturing the particulars of monastic experience at its broadest.

The phraseology employed in the Bernardine description of the war scenes is quite graphic although less gory in detail than that of Prudentius. Scholars disagree about the martial realism behind the struggles of the Bernardine soldiers of Christ. References are made to textual repercussions of the realities of contemporary knighthood. For

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[8] Eloquently depicted by Hélinand of Froidmont in *In ramis palmarum* sermo 2 and its representation of the Devil hurling hindrances and turbulent considerations before the monk at the beginning of his monastic profession, PL 212.559.

instance the preference for "guerra" rather than the expected "bellum" in the first line of Par II is regarded as an oral and vernacular trait pointing towards the feuds of contemporary society.[9] Somewhat in opposition to this view, Casey considers Bernard's description of warfare unrealistic. He finds that in the parables "we find warfare invested with a fairy tale quality, not based on observation but entirely shaped by the rhythms of spiritual warfare, which was his primary focus".[10]

Perhaps the crux of the *militia Christi* motif is not so much whether it is mainly Exodus, Maccabees, Ephesians, Cassian, *Psychomachia*, *Regula Benedicti*, or Burgundy which reverberates, but its ability to embrace and merge each of these. *Militia Christi* is at once an almost technical conception of an ascetic praxis and inclination[11] and a flexible metaphorical construction capable of encompassing a wide array of textual allusions and allowing for the fusion of horizons of text and reader. On a par with the nuptial love of Song, *militia Christi* is a theme which tests and exerts the ideal fusion of experience and Bible.

In this focus on fight and warfare, it must be kept in mind that many a diabolic attack is carried out by means of cunning rather than force. This is also the case in Par II in which the Babylonians largely operate by means of tricks, deceit, and honeyed words, in a typological reverberation of that exercised by the serpent in its primeval talk with Eve, leading to the Fall of man. *Nec vi sed fraude*, as Sadness has it. The glimpse of the bend in the road once again introduces the motif of curvedness as the breeding ground of lapse. Sadness's designation as *mendax spiritus* draws on 1 King 22.22[12] where in the war between Israel and Aram a spirit gets up before God and offers to deceive King Ahab by becoming a lying spirit in the mouth of his prophets. Compared to the biblical context, the parable's account of the deceiver as the Devil's

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[9] *Sämtliche Werke* IV: 892, note 2. Leclercq attests to the presence of "guerra" in some of the first versions of Bernard's sermons; it was however amended to good literary Latin in later versions. Leclercq 1979, 94.

[10] Casey 1985, 7. As one specific instance of Bernard's lack of military insight, Casey notes that the military term "cuneus" in Par II.7 is used incorrectly; *cuneus* was not a siege position but a formation for attack. Casey 1985, 19–20, note 86.

[11] See the prologue of *Regula Benedicti*. It is thus only appropriate that the Cistercian reform of Benedictine monasticism so carefully outlined in *Exordium parvum* should also be shaped as a reform of the *militia*-theme with Robert of Molesme and his monks depicted as "novi milites Christi" (XV).

[12] Vulgate: 3 Rg 22.22.

messenger thus offers quite a radical reversion of the biblical sense of
the term. It is a reversion carried out with Gen 3 in hand and the
serpent in mind.

   The depiction of the war between Jerusalem and Babylon is an
example of the biblical features abounding and meandering in Ber-
nard's text. A bare minimum have been mentioned here. Different Old
Testament wars resonate: David vs. Absalom, Zedekiah vs. Nebuchad-
nezzar, Israel vs. Ahab with a brief excursus to that between Judas
Maccabeus and Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mach 4.58) in Par II.7. The
allusions to these particular wars are not constitutive for the plot of the
parable, but add to a martial condensation of archetypical dimensions.
The overall belligerent framework, however, is constituted by the basic
war of God and Devil in which the soul endeavours to remain with the
divine army. In short, contemporary feuds may have coloured the bat-
tle-lines of the war between Babylon and Jerusalem, but the war itself
and the means employed to overcome the enemy belong to much more
extensive soteriological mythologies.

4. *The castle of Justice*

Jerusalem has won the first round of the battle thanks to Fear. The
equestrian group, with virtuous support on either side and even from
below, forms an important tableau in the allegorical *ductus* of the para-
ble—which is not our concern here. The horse is generally a feature
lending itself to a range of interpretations; it may denote body or pride,
and *in casu* desire or longing: it is moreover a vehicle that may transfer
not only the protagonist but the entire story somewhere else. This is
also a part of its function in our context here; a change of location
takes place, and a new round begins.

   The citizens of Jerusalem turn to the castle of Justice. There is a
quick evaluation of the three features already mentioned as basic in
times of siege: fortification, weaponry, and sustenance. Fear "roused
up his fellow-soldiers and discussed with Justice the fortifications of
the place and sought information about the state of unpreparedness in
weapons and—lest they lack food—in provisions."[13] The fortification is
satisfactory; it is positioned in a place which is stony and inaccessible

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[13] "Timor […] commilitones excidat, Iustitiam de munitione loci convenit, de im-
praeparatione armorum quaerit, adiciens quidem, ne sustentationi deficiant alimenta."
Par II.5; Winkler IV: 824. Casey's translation, 36.

(*locus saxosus et inaccessibilis*). The sustenance, however, is inadequate. The castle of Justice is associated with two fish and five loaves of barley bread, and thereby is positioned against the backdrop of the feeding of the five thousand.[14] The sparseness of food within the castle may also mirror the famine which breaks out during Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem in 2 Kings.

The castle of Wisdom is an ambivalent topos. Its position ensures its invincibility and it is thus a place of relative safety. But it is a place which is as arid and frugal as foretold by God in his speech to Adam Gen 3.17–19. The barley bread of Jn 6.9 Bernard elsewhere classifies as the food of terrestrial peregrination:

> As we now live in the region of corporeality, we are subservient to the body. And since our fathers broke the law of God, it has not only been a time of working but also of suffering, and further, labour and pain for all of us; for the barley bread is hard to eat.[15]

Sent II.139 throws further light on the implications of barley bread. The sentence concerns the "three things that have been revealed in the saints". The first one is outer appearance; gravity of expression, shabbiness of clothing, and seriousness of manners. "This is the barley bread with which five thousand were fed". The second is the interior quality of the spirit; humility, steadfastness, and moderation. "This is the bread of wheat with which four thousand were fed." The third thing is their beauty which is similar to that of God, namely their love which embraces friend and foe. "This is the bread of corn which is baked by the heat of the holy Spirit and is called the bread of angels."[16] The *sententia* exploits the difference between the feeding of the multitudes in Mt 14.13–21 and Mt 15.32–39 respectively. The first passage describes the feeding of five thousand, the second that of four thousand. In Bernard's version, this discrepancy is employed to depict the decrease in the number of those who mirror not only the saints' shabby and grave appearance but also their interior dispositions. To

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[14] Mt 14.13–21, Mk 6.38–44, Lk 9.10–17, and Jn 6.1–15.

[15] "Nunc vero in regione corporum habitantes, corporibus sumus obnoxii, et ex quo dissipaverunt legem Domini parentes nostri, non modo faciendi tempus est, sed etiam patiendi, et amplius omnium nostrum labor et dolor. Durus equidem cibus est hordeaceus panis […]" Div 2.7; Winkler IX: 188.

[16] "hic est panis quo quinque millia satiantur, et est hordeaceus", "hic est panis siligineus, quo quattuor millia saturantur", "hic est panis frumenticius, qui Spiritus Sancti vapore decoquitur, et panis angelorum vocatur". Sent II.139; Winkler IV: 352. Swietek's translation, 168–169.

conclude, the parabolic mentioning of barley bread seems to imply that the castle may be safe from the acutest attacks, but it is impregnated by post-lapsarian affliction.

With such scarce supplies and the enemy at their gates, the Jerusalemites decide to call for help. It almost comes to a conflict when Fear in his hopelessness rises against Hope (Par II.6). It is noteworthy how Fear's mighty roar in the first battle has now been reduced to a querulous whimper: it is dark, the Jerusalemites do not know the way, and they are in a distant land, he complains. Fear may frighten the soul into estrangement from sin, but when it comes to addressing God, the frank trust of Hope is in demand.

5. *The new Jerusalem*

In the history of reception, the topos of the *civitas sancta Hierusalem nova* descending from heaven in Rev 21.2 often blends with the *Hierusalem libera quae est mater nostra* which is above according to Gal 4.26. Often, however, they are invested each with its specific set of connotations. The new Jerusalem plays a particular part in Augustine's distinction between the two cities, which comes to the fore in his *enarratio* of Ps 61.6–7. In this text, Augustine contrasts Babylon built by Cain and Jerusalem built by Abel, thus somewhat opposing the teaching of *De civitate Dei* 15.1 that Abel was so detached from earthly matters that he did not found a city. According to the *enarratio*, Babylon is the older because Cain is the firstborn, and it was founded in a place where no city had been located before. Jerusalem was only founded later, and it was built where the city Jebus of the Jebusites used to be.[17] Of Jebus, Augustine states: "But when that city had been captured, conquered, and subdued, a new city was built just as the old had been destroyed; and it was called Jerusalem: vision of peace, city of God."[18] And just as the old city was destroyed so that a new one might be built, the old must be destroyed in man in order that the new may take its place.[19]

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[17] Josh 18.28 and Judg 19.10–11 refer to Jebus as another name for Jerusalem.

[18] "Ea capta, deuicta, subiecta, aedificata est noua ciuitas tamquam destructa uetere; et appellata Ierusalem: Visio pacis, ciuitas Dei." *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 61.7; X.2: 778.

[19] With reference to Col 3.9–10, NRSV: "Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have been stripped of the old self with its practices and have clothed yourselves with the new self, which is being renewed in knowledge according to the image of its creator."; Vulgate: "nolite mentiri invicem expoliantes vos veterem hominem cum actibus eius

"The evil city lasts from the beginning to the end; the good city is founded through the transformation of evil."[20]

In other words, the new Jerusalem is introduced as a replacement of the old and thus as a type of the recreation by grace. Bernard also brings out this association of the new Jerusalem and the restoration in Christ:

> When you thus keep the word of God there is no doubt that you will be kept by it. The Son will come to you with the Father, the great prophet will come[21] who will renew Jerusalem and make everything new. Because this advent will bring about that 'just as we have carried the terrestrial image, we shall also carry the celestial image.' And just as the old Adam permeated the whole man and occupied him completely, in the same way will Christ hold him completely. He who has created him completely and redeemed him completely will also glorify him completely, he who healed a man wholly on the Sabbath.[22]

When in Par II's reiteration of the *reformatio*-motif of the first parable, Prayer reaches the new Jerusalem, it marks the beginning of the triumphant renewal of the Jerusalem which has hitherto played a leading topographical part in the parable, and the designation points to the renewing power which is shortly to emanate from this regal city in the shape of Love.

Prayer approaches the gate of the king's court with entreaties from Psalms, and is answered with a sentence from Song. The dialogue between Prayer and the king opens with a courteous exchange of greetings: "O King, may you live eternally" (*Rex, in aeternum vive*), says Prayer, quoting the Chaldeans' greeting to Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian

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et induentes novum eum qui renovatur in agnitionem secundum imaginem eius qui creavit eum".

[20] "Mala ergo ciuitas ab initio usque in finem currit; et bona ciuitas mutatione malorum conditur." *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 61.7; X.2: 778. See also Timmermann 1982, 109–114.

[21] Referring to the exclamations of the crowds when Jesus had revived the son of the widow in Nain, Lk 7.16.

[22] "Si sic verbum Dei servaveris, haud dubium quin ab eo serveris. Veniet enim ad te Filius cum Patre, veniet Propheta magnus, qui renovabit Ierusalem, et ille nova facit omnia. Hoc enim faciet hic adventus, ut SICUT PORTAVIMUS IMAGINEM TERRENI, SIC PORTEMUS ET IMAGINEM CAELESTIS (1 Cor 15.49). Sicut fuit vetus Adam effusus per totum hominem, et totum occupavit, ita modo totum obtineat Christus, qui totum creavit, totum redemit, totum et glorificabit, quique totum hominem salvum fecit in sabbato." Adv 5.3; Winkler VII: 114–116. The Sabbath-reference is from Jn 7.23.

king from Dan 3.9.[23] The king answers: "Is everything well with your lord and all that is his?" (*Rectene sunt omnia circa dominum tuum et quae illius sunt?*), referring to the words Elisha tells his servant to ask the Shunammite woman, whose son is dead (4 Rg 4.26).[24] The brief dialogue is an example of the wondrous ways of Bernard's biblical reverberations. Torn from their original contexts and in the first instance even diametrically reversed in terms of qualitative connotations—Nebuchadnezzar being king of Babylon—these words are given a life quite of their own in the parable.

This biblical wealth continues in Prayer's entreaty. First she points to the horns of the oxen (*a cornibus unicornium*) of Ps 21.22[25] which has turned against "your soldier and my lord". Then she asks for his blessing of the arid land, echoing Josh 15.19[26] and for his help against the enemies in the words of e.g. Ps 84.13 "and our land will yield its fruit" (*et terra nostra dabit fructum suum*) and Dan 9.19: "Hear, Lord, forgive, Lord, attend and act" (*exaudi Domine placare Domine attende et fac*). The original context of the Josh-reference is that of a daughter asking her father for springs as a wedding gift, in translation from Vulgate: "she answered him, give me your benediction of the southern and arid land".

The southern (*australis*) direction is not normally trouble-ridden in the same way as the northern (*aquilonius*). On the contrary. Div 85 is a small homily on Eccl 11.3: "Whether a tree falls to the south or to the north, it remains there."[27] Here, Bernard expounds the difference between the two directions: "The warmth and mildness of the south normally signify the good in the Holy Scripture; but 'from the north every evil extends'."[28] Further:

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[23] And later bestowed by Daniel on Nebuchadnezzar's son King Darius, Dan 6.21.

[24] NRSV: 2 Kings 4.26.

[25] Vulgate: "salva me ex ore leonis et a cornibus unicornium". According to Isidore of Seville *Etymologiarum Libri XX* XII.2.12, the *unicornus* is the animal which by the Greek is called *rhinoceros*. And Gregory the Great in *Moralia in Iob* 31.15 discusses the *unicornus* at some length. According to Gregory, this animal—rhinoceros to the Greek—is so strong that it cannot be caught; only if it rests its head in a virgin's lap will it leave aside its ferocity.

[26] Vulgate: "at illa respondit da mihi benedictionem terram australem et arentem".

[27] Bernard's sentence is a re-rendering of Eccl 11.3 according to Vulgate: "si ceciderit lignum ad austrum aut ad aquilonem in quocumque loco ceciderit ibi erit".

[28] "Austri calor et lenitas in sacra Scriptura bonam solet habere significationem; AB AQUILONE VERO PANDITUR OMNE MALUM (Jer 1.14)." Div 85; Winkler IX: 672.

> If the tree is felled, it will no doubt fall to the side where it has the
> more and the heavier branches. Our branches are our desires with which
> we reach to the south if they are spiritual and to the north if they are
> carnal.[29]

Also in Sent III.91, *australis* carries positive connotations, associated as
it is with the monastery:

> The southern region is the cloister or the desert. Here Christ hides those
> who are his own away from conflict of tongues, and afterwards he will
> join them with the company of angels. In the Scriptures the Holy Spirit is
> understood in 'the south', and the 'southern plain'[30] represents the com-
> munal life, a spiritual mode of living among good people. The paradise
> of the cloister, facing the sweet mildness of the favorable south wind,
> flourishes, as it were, with as many flowers as it abounds in virtues.[31]

Against this background, it is arguable that the frugal aridity and inac-
cessibility of the castle of Justice together with the position and protec-
tive walls of the place, also have a monastic ring. It does not signify
the monastery; the parables are not similitudes where each element has
its analogous counterpart. But the topos may work as an epitome of
monastic qualities. The text offers no unequivocal indications. At any
rate, the prayer for irrigation and the extraction of water from rocky
places is a commonplace with pious desert-dwellers: from Moses[32] to
Cuthbert.[33]

Love's arrival at the castle of Justice turns this into a different place.
Gone are aridity and want. Rejoicing has taken their place. Even timid
Fear is revived and at the side of Love kills a thousand enemies. The
structure of virtues and vices constitute an almost autonomous unit
within the biblical conglomerate only rarely, as Timmermann notes,
affected by the biblical matter.[34] Here, however, Fear has been allowed
to assume the role of Saul.

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[29] "Unde maior est copia ramorum et ponderosior, inde casuram esse ne dubites, si
tamen fuerit tunc excisa. Rami vero nostri, desideria nostra sunt, quibus ad austrum
extendimur, si spiritualia fuerint; si carnalia, ad aquilonem." Div 85; Winkler IX: 674.

[30] See Gen 13.1.

[31] "Regio australis est claustrum, vel eremus, in quo Christus suos abscondit a con-
tradictione linguarum, postmodum admixturus consortio angelorum. Per austrum qui-
dem in Scripturis Spiritus Sanctus accipitur, et per australem plagam socialis vita et
spiritualis bonorum conversatio designatur. Claustralis vero paradisus ad suavem spi-
rantis austri clementiam, quasi tot floribus vernat, quot virtutibus abundat." Sent III.91;
Winkler IV: 536. Swietek's translation, 290.

[32] Ex 17.4–7.

[33] Bede, *Vita prosaica S. Cuthberti* XVIII, PL 94.758.

[34] Timmermann 1982, 105.

The development of Fear may be considered an instance of *timor servilis* growing into *timor filialis*.[35] Bernard describes it in *De diligendo Deo* applying the slavish fear to the first slavish stage of love (XIII.36) and *timor castus et filialis* to the third and filial stage:

> Charity will never be without fear but it will be a chaste fear […] Piety mixed with fear does not destroy fear, it chastens it. The punishment alone is taken away, without which fear could not exist while servile. But chaste and filial fear remains forever. When one reads: 'Perfect charity drives away fear,' this must be understood of the punishment which is inseparable from servile fear; it is a figure of speech in which the cause is given for the effect.[36]

Within the Jerusalemite army, Fear has thus been promoted through the intermediation of Love, and at the end of the parable the conquering of the enemy has become a mere trifle. The scared exclamation of the Babylonian army is that of the Egyptians detecting God's support for Moses and the Israelites immediately before perishing in the Red Sea (Ex 14.25), and is an instance of the recurrent conflation of enemy-types. The final slaughter of the Babylonians is instigated by Love's exclamation: "I shall go to the gates of hell" (*Vadam ad portas inferi*, Isa 38.10), extending the topography of the parable—and of Love—almost *ad infinitum* and bursting all delimitations.

6. *The breach in the wall: Topographical borderlines*

Par II is teeming with boundaries and grey zones. On the one hand, there are walls which indicate moments of crisis in the narrative, and are scalable in different degrees. On the other, there are the charged intervals between the parabolic locations.

In summary: in the beginning Compassion, from the walls of Jerusalem, watches one of the Jerusalemites being dragged away, having apparently been inadequately protected by the walls of that city. The field of battle between Babylon and Jerusalem functions as an arena-

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[35] See also Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 127. Lauge O. Nielsen directed my attention to this point.

[36] "Numquam erit caritas sine timore, sed casto […] Porro timori permixta devotio ipsum non annullat, sed castificat. Poena tantum tollitur, sine qua esse non potuit, dum fuit servilis; et timor manet in saeculum saeculi castus et filialis. Nam quod legitur: Perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem (1 Jn 4.18), poena intelligenda est, quae servili, ut diximus, numquam deest timori, illo scilicet genere locutionis, quo saepe causa ponitur pro effectu." Dil XIV.38; Winkler I: 140. Walton's translation, 130.

like void, redolent of the ambiguous menace also attaching to cross-roads. Its only stage property is that of the road, along which Fear travels back to Jerusalem and at the bend of which sly Sadness is posted.

The walls of the castle of Justice play a constitutive and polyvalent role. At their arrival at these walls, the Jerusalemites—and the narrative—are halted. Justice asks the party who they are, where they come from, and why they have come (*unde et ad quid veniant*). This is a reasonable question to ask of strangers approaching one's gates. But it is also a more profound interrogation into their knowledge of their origin and direction, mirroring the necessity of acknowledging the original state of man as created in God's image and likeness, and the urge to restore this state, which Bernard elaborates in *De diligendo Deo*. The questions also echo the abbot's employment of Mt 26.50: "Friend, why have you come?" (*Amice, ad quid venisti?*) in SC 76.10.[37] In this sermon, the question from the gospel forms the point of departure for a discourse on the monastic superior's burdens of responsibility. Viewed in the light of the discipline and diligence required in order that one may guard one's own house, Bernard states, how much more then is not needed to guard that of others. In the sermon the question *Amice, ad quid venisti?* thus addresses the knowledge both of one's own capacities and the efforts required to resist the attacks of the devil. The question "unde et quo" furthermore recurs as a constitutive motif in both Par III and Par VII.

At last the citizens of Jerusalem cross the castle's threshold and are received with joy. This entry into the castle of Justice may be contrasted with the passive resistance ("the position of this place is inaccessible") deterring the Babylonian army from breaking its walls with their machines. In these strong walls not even the slightest aperture appears to the Babylonians as they inspect it. The requirements for securing the walls and openings in order to hinder the access of the Devil have been noted in Chapter Two; this castle meets them all.

Eventually, the walls of the castle turn out to be passable after all, a secret door lets out Prayer. The introduction of this breach in the wall marks a turning point compared to the story of 2 Kings. In the biblical narrative, the king does succeed in slipping through the walls of the besieged city with his soldiers, but this is only the beginning of a bloody regression in which people are slain and tortured, Jerusalem

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[37] Winkler VI: 534–536.

destroyed, and the king, after having witnessed the decapitation of his sons, is blinded and made captive. In the parable, however, Prayer's slipping through the breach marks the first move of the final victory.

The interval between the castle and the new Jerusalem is critical in another way than the interval between Babylon and Jerusalem. It takes special insights and circumstances to cross it: Prayer knows how to penetrate the Temple of heaven in the secrecy of the silent night, and by clandestine ways known to him.[38] Prayer's nocturnal aptitude thus contrasts with the anxiety of Fear, who dreads the night and the ignorance of the ways. And it enables Prayer to arrive at the new Jerusalem in a moment (*in ictu oculi*, 1 Cor 15.52) in a characteristic Bernardine short cut.[39] But the new Jerusalem also has walls, and this poses a hindrance. Like the walls of the castle of Justice, those at the new Jerusalem create narrative and spiritual suspense. Prayer is detained at the threshold to the city, and it is only through his perseverance and the clemency of the king that this boundary is finally crossed.

When Love eventually sets out to relieve the Jerusalemites, she crosses the space between the new Jerusalem and them in a manner quite unlike the stealthy proceedings of Prayer. Love's arrival at the castle of Wisdom is insistently public and victorious. First she traverses the hostile battle-lines in a way meticulously stated in the narrative: first the first one, then the second (*primam pertransit secundamque inmicorum custodiam*). The Babylonian soldiers found gates and walls hermetically sealed, but to her they are agape. The image of the gates of the castle of Justice flinging themselves open to Love chimes with Gra I.2 and XI.36, according to which divine grace can be accepted only with the consent and will of the recipient, and with the grace of the donor.

In addition to these topographical specifications, the parable shows us hierarchizations of the space within the walls. First Justice, with a terminological loan from Am 6.10 which lifts the prophet's wording but not his meaning, takes the Jerusalemite party to the *penetralis* of his house (Par II.4). Later (Par II.6), Justice envisages how Prayer may approach the inner courts of heaven and proceed right into the *cubiculum regis* of Song 1.4.

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[38] "Oratio scilicet, qui in secreto noctis silentis per occultas et sibi notas semitas arcana caeli penetrare […]" Par II.6; Winkler IV: 826.

[39] See also Part I, Chapter Three.

In short, the parable presents us with a range of soft and hard boundaries in the shape of open gates—and rock and walls respectively. It also depicts a range of imagined or real transitions; from the planned, and dreaded, irruption of the Babylonian siege engines to the introduction of hopeful Prayer into the new Jerusalem, reaching a climax in Love's ceremonial entry through the open gates of the castle of Wisdom. Finally, the parable offers a number of ways—and lack of ways—by which intervals are crossed; the one at the bend in which lurks Sadness, the ones that Fear asserts the Jerusalemites do not know, and those secret ones known to Prayer. Together with the innermost rooms, these indications heighten the narrative intensity and establish a range of charged differentiations with the topographical layout of the parable.

The narrative outline of Par II gives rise to some more general considerations of the boundaries within spiritual topography. As already indicated, the features of the topography may be shaped in infinite ways. There are, however, some basic doctrinal indications. Paradise, for instance, is a topos with a clear demarcation; man has been expelled, and between Paradise and *regio dissimilitudinis* there is a compulsory demarcation. These topoi are mutual complementary opposites, and the demarcation between them marks a constitutive factor in the character of each of them.

At a first glance the expulsion, that is the transition of the paradisiacal demarcation, marks a point of no return. However, although in the Fall man has lapsed into *regio dissimilitudinis*, he may accomplish a re-crossing of sorts by means of the reversion carried out in the monastery. Bernard suggests that "Man, who has been situated in exile, must return via the same degrees of virtue by the loss of which he deserved to be expelled from Paradise".[40] This means that by a reversion of the causes of the Fall, the consequences of the Fall may also be reversed. Thus, the topos of the monastery, the *paradisus claustralis*, relates to the paradisiacal topos in a way that implies a considerable degree of erasure of boundaries and demarcations. This same erasure characterizes the nature of the monastery as an anticipation of the celestial Jerusalem.

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[40] "Eisdem ergo virtutum gradibus redeundum est homini in exsilio posito, quibus privatus expelli meruit de paradiso." Div. 102.1; Winkler IX: 758. The issue is discussed further in connection with Par VII.

As regards the monastery as a place in its own right, this topos is strictly walled (*claustralis*) in a literal as well as a spiritual sense. And yet Bernard warns his monks not to return to Egypt in their hearts,[41] thus suggesting that the enclosure cannot fence in the affections. The point is stressed with regard to the hazards of spiritual vagrancy within the monastic walls, as well as those of actual vagrancy outside them. The theme of 'interior' monastic relapse is the prevalent theme of *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*, the text of which stresses the danger of 'falling out' of the central sense of the monastery. This danger is ever present, insofar as each state of progression has its parallel counterpart of regression. The monastery, however, is also embedded in *regio dissimilitudinis* as an ontological condition of post-lapsarian man, thus demarcated from both Paradise and the heavenly homeland. *Regio dissimilitudinis* is clearly delimited from the heavenly homeland because of the contrast between being dependent on the body in this life and being released from it after death. And yet man may have a vision of God already in this life, if a restricted one: "Even now he appears to whom he pleases, but as he pleases, not as he is."[42]

The provisional and imperfect vision marks a partial transcendence of the limit between *regio dissimilitudinis* and celestial beatitude. However, when the vision evaporates, when the half-hour described in Hum VII.21 has passed, man relapses into the absence of—and desire for— the bridegroom, or for the vision of God as he is, and the demarcation between heaven and earth reappears. Thus, in spite of the brief moments of semi-dispensation, it is generally stressed that the celestial topos is secluded; in the words of SC 50.8:

> How long shall we smell and not taste, gazing toward the fatherland and not taking possession, sighing for it and saluting from afar? O truth, fatherland of exiles, end of their exile! I see you, but held fast by the flesh I may not enter. Filthy with sins, I am not fit to be admitted.[43]

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[41] For instance QH 3.5.

[42] "Itaque videtur et hic, sed sicut videtur ipsi, et non sicuti est." SC 31.I.2; Winkler V: 488. Walsh's translation, II: 125. William of Saint-Thierry is more explicit on this point than Bernard, relating how when man sees a reflection of God, i.e. transcends for a while the boundary of heaven, he is reminded how much perfection he lacks. Thus, in one simultaneous movement, the boundary is crossed and yet experienced in its entire insuperability, an experience in which the boundary is reconstituted, *Epistola ad Fratres de Monte-Dei* 268–270, 358–359.

[43] "[…] quousque odoramus et non gustamus, prospicientes patriam et non apprehendentes, suspirantes et de longe salutantes? O Veritas, exsulum patria, exsilii finis!

Basically, according to Bernard, man is left in the condition of Heb 11, greeting the homeland from a distance.

In short, spiritual topography is defined and differentiated by means of boundaries and demarcations, shutting out and fencing in *peregrini* and *viatores*. These demarcations often appear stable and fixed; but the way in which this fixedness is set up and presented changes from text to text, just as the osmotic potential, as it were, varies. Furthermore, the topographies are characterized by the range of gaps between the different topoi, gaps that constitute grey areas of tension between initiation or transition and relapse, and grey areas of potential slippage. These gaps are narrativized as sites of ferocious battles between good and evil, as abysses of distress in which man, besieged by the demonic army, realizes his dependence on God, or as fragrant chambers with intimate and mellow meetings between Christ and the soul in which Christ is nevertheless on his way "towards the pastures where he tends his flocks".[44] The gaps signify the crises in which man makes choices, and the crises in which divine grace meets with human imperfection.

7. *Topographical plot*

The parable's topographical pattern is sustained through the meanderings of biblical passages within its scope. Notably the Babylonian warrior's statement that the citizens of Jerusalem are like aliens and exiles (*tamquam advenas et peregrinos*) referring to 1 Pet 2.11,[45] and Fear's triple objection that it is dark, that they do not know the way,[46] and that they are in a distant land, recalling the *regio longinqua* of the parable of the prodigal son (Lk 15). Furthermore, the Song of Song context of Prayer's meeting with the king, anticipated in Justice's assertion that Prayer will know how to get through to the king's *cubiculum* (Par II.6) is supported by the exclamation of the king on at last hearing Prayer's hammering on the door: "The voice of the turtle dove is heard in our land" (Song 2.12). These references help pin-point and maintain the general topo-

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Video te, sed intrare non sinor, carne retentus, sed nec dignus admitti, peccatis sordens." SC 50.III.8; Winkler VI: 180. Walsh and Edmonds's translation, III: 37.

[44] Pranger 1994, 116.

[45] NRSV: "Beloved, I urge you as aliens and exiles to abstain from the desires of the flesh that wage war against the soul"; Vulgate: "carissimi obsecro tamquam advenas et peregrinos abstinere vos a carnalibus desideriis quae militant adversus animam".

[46] Referring to Jn 12.35, NRSV: "If you walk in the darkness you do not know where you are going."; Vulgate: "et qui ambulat in tenebris nescit quo vadat".

graphical outline of the text. The words of the Babylonian sustained by the anxiety of Fear indicate vulnerability on the Jerusalemites' part; the citizens of Jerusalem are easily overcome because they do not know their direction. This ignorance becomes a "You are here" mark of the parable, displaying both the investment by sin and the route, to wit Prayer, out of it.

This parable emphasizes the constitutive contrast between Babylon and Jerusalem, and the threats to the separation through sly deception and schemes of frontal attack. In this parable Bernard is determined to show the perpetual diabolic assault on the citizens of the monastic Jerusalem, or, in a topographical vocabulary, the way in which boundaries between Jerusalem and Babylon constantly have to be maintained and fortified. However, he also shows that when the walls that separate the two cities are under pressure, the monks should turn their attention to the heavenly palace from which aid may be obtained. By the insistence that Jerusalem is under the sceptre of Christ, the parable is narrated in the light of the grace of incarnation resumed in Love's final renewing victory.

In short, topographically speaking this parable is about: first the constant need for a confirmation that the separation between the two antithetical *civitates* Babylon and Jerusalem is not crossed, blurred, or violated, and second the endeavours to cross—and effective crossings of—the way between the castle of Justice and the new Jerusalem. The parable provides a happy ending to this particular incident, but then the war is ever raging: *Inter Babylonem et Ierusalem nulla est pax, sed guerra continua.*

PARABOLA III, DE FILIO REGIS
SEDENTE SUPER EQUUM

I. *Summary*

1. "In the war between Jerusalem and Babylon, the lines are drawn up for battle. On the one side, David courageously leads forth the ranks of the virtues, drawn up in battle array and fearsome to behold. On the other side is Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon who, on behalf of the spiritual powers of wickedness, leads against him the rowdy army of the vices."[1]

But from David's camp an inexperienced novice stepped forward, only recently sworn in by the king. He had been girded with the sword of God's word by David's own hand and distinguished with spiritual weapons. But he was impatient and proud. He had a fiery horse on which he sat with a remarkable bearing. King David warned him "through his son Solomon": "Woe to one who is alone, because if he falls he has no one to lift him up".[2] But the novice did not mind the warning; he was waiting for an opportunity to prove his great virtue. Then his eye was caught by one of the enemies, strong in vice, the spirit Fornication.

2. Now the novice directed his attack towards this particular enemy and he urged his horse forwards with lashes of fasting and the spurs of vigils. Prudence called: "Stop, stop!" Judgement called: "Wait, wait". But the novice rushed ahead. Fornication pretended to flee, and the novice followed him—right through the open gate into the centre of Babylon. In Babylon the novice suffered all kinds of torments until at last Fornication left him to Nebuzaradan, the cook of the Babylonian king, to be ridiculed by filthy and horrible vices. Thus captured by the enemy the novice was bound with the ropes of evil custom and thrown into the prison of desperation.

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[1] "Inter Ierusalem et Babyloniam ordinatae sunt acies ad bellum. Hinc David manu fortis aciem producit virtutum terribilem et ordinatam; inde Nabuchodonosor Babylonis spiritualia nequitiae, suumque illum vitiorum tumultuosum exercitum dirigit ex adverso." Par III.1; Winkler IV: 832. Casey's translation, 45.

[2] Eccl 4.10, Vulgate: "vae soli quia cum ruerit non habet sublevantem".

3. King David mourned for his son, and he sent Fear and Obedience to search for him. They found him and released him from his chains. They also gave him back his horse which hardly recognized him, and Obedience gave it a bridle though it fought against it.

4. Obedience received the soldier of Christ from Fear and led him by another way to his land. He established a first home for the soldier with Piety, so that Piety could revive his courage, which Fear had scared, in order that he might be courageous enough to approach his father, who was calling for him to come home. And so the novice took up residence in several places along the way home: with Knowledge so that he would know from what place he had come and to what place he must return, and with Fortitude "who strengthened him so that he might continue his journey of return."[3] The fourth home was with Counsel, the fifth with Understanding, and his sixth home was with Wisdom "who escorted him with kindness and would not desert him on his journey so that he might already taste the good things of the Lord and so, like Moses on Mount Abarim, might begin to contemplate what God has promised. It was from here that he arrived in Jerusalem, in the kingdom and city of David, in the vision of peace, where those blessed peace-makers who are God's children dwell and all things are at peace, within and without."[4]

II. *Discussion*

Par III presents a narrativization of the dialectic between ascetic progression and relapse which is otherwise depicted in *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*. The parable does not have the simultaneity of the treatise; here the tension takes the form of a development from lapse to retained progression.

1. *Setting*

There is—permanently—war between Babylon and Jerusalem. In this parable, the belligerent parties are further characterized. Babylon's army is chaotic in accordance with the etymology of Babel in Gen 11.9, and Jerusalem's is drawn up and terrifying, consonant with Song 6.3

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[3] "[…] quae eum ad peragendum reditus sui iter confortaret." Par III.4; Winkler IV: 836. Casey's translation, 48.

[4] "[…] hospitibus suis eum prosequentibus, nec iter eius deserentibus, ut iam ei sapiant bona Domini, et exinde cum Moyse, velut de monte Abarim, repromissiones Dei incipiat contemplari. Et hinc iam pervenitur in Ierusalem, in regnum et civitatem David, in visionem pacis, ubi beati pacifici filii Dei, interius et exterius […]" Par III.4; Winkler IV: 836. Casey's translation, 49.

which says of the *amica* that she is comely like Jerusalem yet terrible as an army lined up for battle (*decora sicut Hierusalem terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata*). Once again, the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem from 2 Kings is reworked, this time, however, from another point of view. Par III zooms in on actors proceeding from Babylon and Jerusalem respectively, and on the forces which motivate them. Like Par I, this parable directs its attention to one single person, thereby offering a clear point of identification. Finally, it differs significantly from the other parables, except from Par VII, in being more elaborate in the description of the restitution of its protagonist.

The narrative is structured in two scenarios. The first, in accordance with the biblical narrative of 2 Kings 25, shows the contrast between Jerusalem and Babylon, with particular emphasis on the terrors of Babylon and the violence to which the novice is there subjected. The second, unlike the biblical narrative, shows the way by which the novice at once returns and proceeds to Jerusalem as well as the different stations along the way. Generally, the *leitmotif* of the Babylonian exile lingers throughout the story.

This parable primarily gives occasion for a discussion of the way in which the topographical point of view is conveyed and the way in which the audience are to apply this topography. First, however, we shall turn to some points of more general interest.

2. *Nebuchadnezzar and David*

The three key characters stand in sharp silhouette. Nebuchadnezzar is one of the prototypes of evil on a par with Pharaoh and the serpent of Paradise.[5] Together with the figure of Nebuzaradan he embodies the various aspects of the Babylonian attack on Jerusalem. In the Old Testament, Nebuzaradan is the captain of the bodyguard of Nebuchadnezzar, and it is he who burns down the temple and the houses of Jerusalem, breaks down the walls of the city, and carries its inhabitants into exile.[6] In the parable he is referred to as the cook of the Babylonian king.[7] Both Nebuchadnezzar and Nebuzaradan are por-

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[5] Jerome presents Nebuchadnezzar as "serpens diabolus". *Tractatus in Librum Psalmorum* 136, 297–298.

[6] 2 Kings 25.8–12 and Jer 52.12–16.

[7] The change of status, from "captain of the bodyguard, servant of the Babylonian king" ("princeps exercitus servus regis Babylonis") in Old Testament to that of cook

trayed as the essential inhabitants of Babylon, lending to this topos monstrous implications of violence and cruelty. In the words of Piehler: "In ancient literature, the primary danger to the consciousness inherent in the wilderness is manifested and symbolized in its animal inhabitants […] the monster embodies the terror engendered by the hostility of featureless terrain to the rational process".[8] This association between place and inhabitant pertains equally—albeit in a positive version—to the positive figures, notably the kings of Jerusalem, concordantly with the 'heroic space' described by Gurevich: "The hero in medieval poetry carries with him his own spatial sphere of action, inherently and existentially his, into which emanate the powers that stream from him, and which in its turn defines him in a specific way".[9] Also the parables' key figures, whether moving at their own will or being manoeuvred about, may be said to be endowed with some of the this kind of 'qualified' space, albeit ambiguous. The sphere of action enveloping the parabolic protagonists is first and foremost a sphere of crisis, crystallized in the battle-field of the *bellum intestinum*—at once exterior and interior.

Opposite Babylon's Nebuchadnezzar, Jerusalem has an equally powerful king in David, a figure who, not surprisingly, is generally associated with the topos of Jerusalem.[10] In this person, three figures merge. First the Old Testament king in his Old Testament context. This figure looms in the parabolic David's lamentation for the novice in the words: "Absalom my son, my son Absalom, would that someone had granted me to die instead of you, my son Absalom",[11] echoing the biblical king's mourning over his son who had been killed after revolting against his regal father. David is also a figure of Christological implications. These basically derive from New Testament statements that Christ is of Davidian descent (Mt 1.6), shall, according to the annunciation, be given "the throne of his ancestor David" (Lk 1.32), and

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in the parable may be due to Fulgentius (6th century) who describes Nebuzaradan as "coquorum praefectus", the head of the cooks, *De Aetatibus Mundis et Hominis* IX, 160.

   [8] Piehler 1971, 73.
   [9] Gurevich 1985, 67.
   [10] In Augustine's words: "Thus David reigned in the earthly Jerusalem, a son of the Heavenly Jerusalem […]" ("Regnauit ergo Dauid in terrena Hierusalem, filius caelestis Hierusalem […]") *De civitate Dei* XVII.20; LIV.2: 586. Bettenson's translation, 753.
   [11] Bernard's wording of 2 Sam 18.33 differs slightly from that of Vulgate: in his version the verse reads: "Absalon fili mi, fili mi Absalon, quis mihi det ut eo moriar pro te, fili mi Absalon."

is born in "the city of David called Bethlehem" (Lk 2.4). Augustine extends this ancestral connection with a range of typological appositions, for instance: David is a figure of Christ; as he killed Goliath, so Christ killed the Devil. As David's tambourine (*tympanum*) is made of hide stretched over wood, his playing the tambourine is a figure of Christ's crucifixion, and finally David playing at the gates to the city is a figure that human hearts should be opened to Christ crucified.[12]

The King David of the parable is finally a figure signifying the novice's monastic superior who acts as mediator between the novice and God in accordance with *Regula Benedicti* 2.2, where the abbot is "trusted to act in Christ's place in the monastery" ("Christi enim agere vices in monasterio creditur"). Thus, the figure of David here represents both a divine and a monastic voice of warning. As the story evolves, this initial hint that this *psychomachia* is of a specifically monastic nature is unfurled in full view. Hence, King David's despatch of Fear and Obedience may be considered a depiction of the spiritual superior ordering an ascetic remedy for the initial difficulties of the novice.

That side of the abbot's role has been specifically expounded by William of Saint-Thierry. In his *Epistula ad Fratres de Monte-Dei*, William describes how the novice must subject himself to the will and judgement of his superior, and let himself be shaped in the same way as the vase in the hands of the potter, drawing on Rom 9.21–25, which depicts God as divine potter with the same rights over his creation as the mortal potter has over his clay. And, William continues, the novice must be obedient to his superior just as, according to the precept of the Lord and the order of nature, the wife is obedient to her husband. This obedience is perfect in that it does not question the commands of the abbot but carries out faithfully and humbly what a superior has ordained.[13] In short, to William the monastic superior not only acts vicariously for Christ, he even shares divine characteristics. Of these, the most notable are his formative power over the monk, expressed in the relation between the potter and the pot, and the fact that his superiority is referred to a natural order. William's doctrine on obedience constitutes a parallelism between the "know yourself"—in your dependence on God, that is—of post-lapsarian man and the "know yourself" in your dependence as a monk on your superior.

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[12] *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 33.1.
[13] *Epistula ad Fratres de Monte-Dei* 53 and 68.

3. *The novice*

The parable's novice does not listen to the demands of his abbot-king. He disobeys the command he has been given and consequently makes himself guilty according to both the tenth degree of pride, which in Hum XIX.48 is described in the paragraph "De rebellione", and the first step of humility in *Regula Benedicti* 5.1, the demand for "obedience without delay" ("oboedientia sine mora"). The novice in his disobedience embraces the kind of passionate and irregular warfare that the Templars in Tpl IV.8 are depicted as refraining from when with every caution and care (*cum omni cautela et providentia*) they organize themselves in battle-lines. This is moreover the kind of warfare reserved in the previous parables for the hostile armies. Throughout the parabolic *corpus*, offensive warfare is a mode of action proper to the diabolic city, whereas the citizens of Jerusalem act defensively. Only Love has hitherto carried out an offensive campaign on the side of the Jerusalemites, but then she was the queen of the celestial king. The actions of the novice thus smack of diabolism rather than simple foolishness; in Casey's words, "already the young man is manifesting more of the tumultuousness of the Babylonian camp than the discipline of his own."[14] According to Augustine, the association of youth and Devil is immanent: "He calls the Devil a 'mere boy' because of his stupidity, his pride, his rashness, his indiscipline, and the other faults which are generally found in profusion at that age."[15]

The novice's horse signifies the body,[16] and marks the character of his enterprise as carnally governed misconduct. Casey calls the horse of the novice "a recalcitrant *Doppelgänger*",[17] and it is the equine and corporeal enemy as much as the diabolic foe that the novice has to fight. It is noteworthy that the horse is pushed forward in its hazardous project by means of vigils and fasting which should have a positive ascetic ring. When employed in the service of ascetic self-promotion, these noble

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[14] Casey 1983c, 284.

[15] "Adulescentem dixit diabolum propter stultitiam et superbiam et temeritatem et petulantiam ceteraque uitia, quae huic aetati adsolent abundare […]" *De civitate Dei* XVII.20; XIV.2: 589. Bettenson's translation, 756.

[16] Timmermann 1982, 121. The horse is a rich repository of connotations; in *La Queste del Saint Graal* the horses signify the pride of the old knighthood. It is thus significant that Gauvains is forced to leave the quest because his horse is felled and falls upon him. In Par VI, the horse is called an "animal of pride and discord" (*animal superbiae et discordiae*).

[17] Casey 1983c, 283.

activities become merely another proof of the primary vice of rebellion and spiritual self-reliance: they in fact only serve to intensify the lapse of the novice.

Disobedience is not the novice's only vice. His singularity is just as dangerous. The action he so rashly takes echoes negatively the praise given in *Regula Benedicti* to the anchorites, who are ready for solitary life only after a substantial cenobitic training:

> Second, there are the anchorites or hermits, who have come through the test of living in a monastery for a long time, and have passed beyond the first fervor of monastic life. Thanks to the help and guidance of the many, they are now trained to fight against the devil. They have built up their strength and go from the battle line in the ranks of their brothers to the single combat of the desert.[18]

Monastic rashness and unruliness seriously provoke Bernard's anger, especially when they resemble headstrong solitary pursuit of the glory of virtue at the expense of the benefits and demands of the community. In Ep 115, we met the nun who wanted to leave the convent to seek ascetic solitude. Bernard sends her a letter alive with the sense of imminent danger:

> Either you are one of the foolish virgins (if indeed you are a virgin) or you are one of the wise. If you are one of the foolish, the convent is necessary for you; if you are one of the wise, you are necessary for the convent.[19]

In *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*, the idea of pursuing a particularly virtuous life on one's own is combined with the vice of hypocrisy. The paragraph on the fifth degree of pride is designated "De singularite" and it describes the monk who wants to seem, rather than be, outstanding in saintliness. This is the monk who would rather fast one day alone in order to surpass his fellow monks than seven days together with the others (Hum XIV.42). However, apart from the demonic threat of pride related to hypocrisy, the issue of solitude also implies great danger in its exposure to diabolic attack. Bernard's attitude to solitude thus runs

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[18] "Deinde secundum genus est anachoritarum, id est eremitarum, horum qui non conversationis fervore novicio, sed monasterii probatione diuturna, qui didicerunt contra diabolum multorum solacio iam docti pugnare, et bene exstructi fraterna ex acie ad singularem pugnam eremi […]" *Regula Benedicti* 1.3–5, 168. Fry's translation, 169.

[19] "[…] aut de fatuis virginibus una es, si tamen virgo es, aut de prudentibus. Si de fatuis, congregatio tibi necessaria est; sed de prudentibus, tu congregationi." Ep 115.2; Winkler II: 830. James's translation 180.

somewhat contrary to that of William of Saint-Thierry whose letter to the Carthusians shows some inclination to these monks' solitary way of life, for instance in his introductory commendation of the contemplative life in the Carthusian cell.[20] Bernard several times stresses the martial force of the monastic community in comparison with the vulnerability of the single monastic soldier. In Circ 3, the Ecclesiastes-warning that the parabolic King David has Solomon speak, once again plays a central role: "The community is terrible in its strength like the orderly battle-lines of the army. But 'woe to one who is alone, because if he falls he has no one to lift him up'".[21]

Also Ep 2, as we saw earlier, contrasts the single soldier on his high horse to the army of soldiers:

> Your brother soldiers, whom you have deserted by running away, are fighting and conquering, they are knocking on the gates of heaven and it is being opened unto them, they take the kingdom of heaven by force and are kings, while you trot around the streets and market places on your horse, clothed in scarlet and fine linen. But these are not the accoutrements of war![22]

One of the reasons why asceticism should be practised in the stability of the monastic community is the fact that the solitary life demands a particular degree of spiritual strength, and that often this strength is not often found in those who want to challenge the Devil in this way. The motif pertains not only to the ascetic context. It recurs in many Arthurian trials; in *La Queste*, for instance, Melyanz, the son of the Danish king, fails bitterly when he enters the road of which it is said: "The left-hand road thou shalt not take, for he that enters therein must be second to none if he would follow it to the end."[23]

In short, the novice of Par III exhibits similarities to the monk lured by the midday demon in SC 33:

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[20] *Epistola ad Fratres de Monte-Dei* 27–40.

[21] "Congregatio enim pro fortitudine sua terribilis est, ut castrorum acies ordinata. VAE autem SOLI, QUIA SI CECIDERIT, NON HABET SUBLEVANTEM (Eccl 4.10)." Circ 3.6; Winkler VII: 310.

[22] "Commilitones tui, quos fugiens deseruisti, pugnant et vincunt, pulsant et intrant, caelum rapiunt et regnant, et tu, sedens super ambulatorem tuum, indutus purpura et bysso, circuis plateas, vicos perambulas? Haec sunt pacis ornamenta, non belli munimenta." Ep 2.12; Winkler II: 284. James's translation, 18.

[23] "Cele a senestre te deffent je que tu n'i entres, car trop covient estre preudome celui qui i entre se il en velt issir […]" *La Queste del Saint Graal*, 41. Matarasso's translation, 66.

> How often, for example, does he not persuade a monk to anticipate the hour of rising, and mock at him as he sleeps in choir while his brothers pray! How often does he not suggest that fasts be prolonged, until a man is so weak that he is useless for the service of God! How often, in envy of a man's fervor in community life, does he not persuade him to live as a hermit in order to achieve greater perfection, until the unhappy man finally discovers how true that saying is which had had read to no purpose: 'woe to him who is alone, for when he falls he has none to lift him up!'[24]

Finally, as we have seen in Par I, the solitary wayfarer is liable to drifting and deviation:

> One who separates himself from human society loses the consolation of companions. An unwillingness to accompany his confrères comes over him. In his wandering he easily strays off the proper path, and the ruin of his life frequently results.[25]

This passage could have been a motto for Par III, stressing the difference between high road and byway, between travelling alone and in the company of others—and emphasizing the association between solitude and deviation. In a range of Bernardine texts, leaving the community is a coded warning of monastic deviation. Therefore, when G. Constable suggests that from the end of the 11th century *vita apostolica* is no longer considered as the common life reflected in Acts, but rather as an individual perfection,[26] it may fit the actual circumstances of Cistercian life but it does not account for the doctrines on which this life is based. The eager novice of the parable appears to be a fusion of the two different types of the "lonely monk" described in the passages mentioned above. In his hurling himself alone into the battle he resembles the monk who wants to stand out among his fellow monks rather than the one who withdraws from them. But he also resembles the monk

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[24] "Quotiens, verbi causa, suggessit anticipare vigilias, quo ad solemnia fratrum illuderet dormitanti! Quotiens produci ieiunia, ut divinis obsequiis eo inutilem redderet, quo imbecillem! Quotiens bene proficientibus in coenobiis invidens, quasi obtentu maioris puritatis eremum petere persuasit, et cognoverunt miseri tandem quam verus sit sermo quem frustra legerant: Vae soli, quoniam si ceciderit, non habet sublevantem! (Eccl 4.10)" SC 33.V.10; Winkler V: 528. Walsh's translation, II: 153.

[25] "Qui a societate recedit, amittit conviatorum solatia; prosequendi socios subit fastidia; aberrans facile sequitur devia; incurrit saepius vitae naufragia." Sent II.76; Winkler IV: 332. Swietek's translation, 157.

[26] Constable 1977, 55. Concerning the historical development of peregrination as ascetic withdrawal, Leclercq writes, "Mais toujours la pérégrination est une forme de la solitude, une recherche de l'exil et du dénuement, un moyen d'imiter le Christ en sa pauvreté." Leclercq 1963, 51.

who is led astray. The novice is not only led into deviation but directly
to the wrong goal, namely to the city of Babylon.

Like the previous parable, Par III presents an example of the enemy
working by means of stealth. When, in Par II, one of the Devil's men
transforms himself into an angel of light, it does not deceive the com-
munity of Jerusalemite citizens. But our solitary novice does not see
through Fornication's trick. The deceit practised by this hostile sol-
dier echoes the etiological deception of the serpent, and the failure
of the novice thus becomes a second Fall which, just like the first, is
spurred on by the vice of pride. In his Fall, the novice is moreover
led into another Babylonian captivity. This movement augments the
theme of exile hinted at from the very first introduction of Nebuchad-
nezzar.

The Babylonian captivity is combined with the topos of the prison
of sin, in which the novice is furthermore "tied with the ropes of evil
custom" ("ligatur funibus malae consuetudinis"). This hobbling of the
novice echoes both the post-lapsarian enslavement of the free will and
its ascetic analogy, which is the twelfth and final degree of pride: that
of habitual sin displayed in *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*'s chapter
"De consuetudine peccandi". Having reached this degree, the monk
according to Hum XX.51 hastens towards death untroubled (*intrepidus
festinat ad mortem*). This carefree road to ruin parallels the untroubled
mind that characterized the king's son in Par I, and is in shrill contrast
to the self-knowledge and its implied recognition of man's dependence
on God which is a prerequisite of any wayfaring towards God.

4. *Returns*

The novice ends up in Babylon where he is subjected to torments and
debasement. However, at this place and in this state he is found by Fear
and Obedience. Once again, Fear is the driving force of the reversion:
this time accompanied by Obedience rather than Hope, in accordance
with the needs of the novice:

> In this beginning, this infancy as it were, fear of God and the discipline of
> the master follow in turn, and whoever has been punctilious in diligently
> observing this, will find himself now in this state, now in that. This is why
> when speaking to the young Church [Christ] has both terms in mind at
> the same time when he says "You call me Teacher and Lord and you
> speak rightly: that is what I am" (Jn 13.13). Let our novices here know
> their place, so that they may be punctilious, as for the rest, in carefully

occupying themselves more with it. Although fear especially is necessary for them, as past sins may assuredly be effaced through it and future ones avoided.[27]

Fear and Obedience lead the novice back, as the text says, by another way. However, the way that brings him out of Babylon is in a sense a mirror image of the way that brought him there. The theme of return is an important implication of progression, already touched upon briefly in relation with the *reformatio in melius* of the first parable. The idea of proceeding while going backwards is also found in the attempt to approach Paradise by means of a spiritual reversal of the Fall such as we shall find in Par VII.

The return of the novice could have had as its motto the following passage from Sent III.94:

> If, however, a person, even after he has fallen all the way to Babylon, wants to be freed, it is necessary that he arranges the ascents in his heart and goes up again along the same path by which he came down. It is not necessary for him to search out the route—a route that he does not know. The route is known to him, since he descended along it! The result is that by following his own footsteps in retracing his path, he can rise up, humbled, by the same steps by which, in his pride, he descended.[28]

This dynamic between back and forth, up and down is the structuring principle of *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*. Its concluding words address the point of backwards progression—or progressive return. The passage is addressed to Bernard's cousin Godfrey, the first abbot of Fontenay and recipient of the treatise:

> Well, brother Godfrey, you will, perhaps complain that I have not given you exactly what you asked and what I promised. It looks as if I had described the steps of pride rather than those of humility. […] However,

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[27] "In his itaque primordiis, et quasi infantili aetate, sic vicissim succedunt sibi timor Domini et disciplina magistri, ut nunc in isto, nunc in illo statu sese inveniat quisquis sollicitus fuerit diligenter haec observare. Inde est quod novellae adhuc Ecclesiae loquens, simul utriusque nominis meminit dicens: Vos VOCATIS ME MAGISTER ET DOMINE, ET BENE DICITIS: SUM ETENIM (Jn 13.13). Agnoscant hic locum suum novitii nostri, ut solliciti sint de cetero sedule magis circa ista versari. Ante omnia siquidem timor eis necessarius est, quo nimirum peccata possint praeterita delere, cavere futura." Div 8.7; Winkler IX: 252.

[28] "Quod si homo, postquam descendit etiam usque in Babylonem, liberari voluerit, oportet ut ascensiones in corde suo disponat, et reascendat per quas descendit vias. Non enim necesse habet viam inquirere, viam quam non novit, sed notam, qua descendit, ut, reciprocis gressibus sua ipse vestigia sequens, per eosdem gradus humiliatus ascendat, per quos superbiendo descenderat." Sent III.94; Winkler IV: 558. Swietek's translation, 307–308.

if you study this carefully you will find the way up. If you are going to
Rome who can tell you the way better than one you meet coming from
there? He will describe the towns, villages, cities, rivers and mountains
he has passed and as you go along you will meet and recognize them in
the reverse order.[29]

Besides showing the double aspect of ascent and descent, this passage
throws light on the topographical implications of Bernard's text. First,
even in a vertically structured work such as *De gradibus humilitatis*, the
figurative vocabulary which is apparently most useful when it comes
to exhibiting the outline of the treatise is horizontal and geographical.
The topographical language is used to generate imagination as well
as recognition. It is employed as an *aide-mémoire*, in the monastic, not
the general, sense of memory. Thus, the topographical structure is
exposed as a structure of co-ordinates within which the different topoi
and, not least, man's own position may be pin-pointed. Second, if we
turn to the implications of the topographical structure, in this passage
Bernard indicates that he sees the virtues and vices mentioned in the
text as points of orientation by means of which one may travel a certain
distance. Furthermore, these points of orientation are topoi that enable
the traveller to map the space that lies between himself and the goal,
and, once on his way, the space that lies behind and before him. Thus
even if in *De gradibus humilitatis*, the topography itself serves mainly
as a pedagogical image, Bernard here shows that his text should be
considered as a map, by which Godfrey will be able to find his way—
even if it may take some construing.

   As was pointed out in the introduction, one of the characteristics
of maps is that they prolong the vision and propose a more extensive
view of the reality than that immediately visible. Bernard remarks in
Hum XXII.57, maybe somewhat sarcastically, concerning the degrees
of ascent; in order to ascend "you will do better to read in your heart
than in our books" ("melius tu in tuo corde quam in nostro codice
leges"). Ideally, Godfrey would not need a textual map but would know

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[29] "Dicis forsitan, frater Godefride, me aliud quam tu quaesisti, quam ipse promisi,
tandem exhibuisse, cum pro gradibus humilitatis, superbiae gradus videar descripsisse
[…] In quo tamen, si diligenter inspicitur, via forsitan ascensionis reperitur. Si enim
tibi Romam tendenti homo inde veniens obviaret, quaesitus viam, quid melius quam
illam, qua venit, ostenderet? Dum castella, villas et urbes, fluvios ac montes, per quos
transierit, nominat, suum denuntians iter, tuum tibi praenuntiat, ita ut eadem loca
recognoscas eundo, quae ille pertransiit veniendo." Hum XXII.57; Winkler II: 128–130.
Conway's translation, 82.

the way by heart. Yet as he does not, the space that he wants to cross must be depicted on a map, a map that he must, as Bernard says, "examine diligently" in order, as we put it, to find his own position within the topographical space.

The other point which is important in relation to the mapping of *De gradibus humilitatis*, and in fact the mapping of any Bernardine text, is that it works both ways. It contains thereby an implicit reflection of the organic dialectic of progression and relapse, of conversion and reversion, of retrograde advance and forwards return. This dialectic is for instance represented in the designation of the Garden of Eden, Christ, the monastery, and the celestial homeland as paradises, thereby indicating that these topoi are different but also that they are similar, and that by moving towards one of them, the others are approached as well. This aspect also strikes the double note of reversion so significant in Par III. The fact, that is, that a movement may be reversed by moving gradually backwards, and that this is a reversion which at the same time indicates a wholly new way because it is travelled under an altered disposition. It is remarkable that in each of these steps, both progression and regression are present. In just the same way as each topos of the topography represents both itself and its inverse.

This constitutive bi-polarity is always there. Depending on the viewpoint of the text it may be depicted as a sweet pain which adds hope to despair, or a painful sweetness which adds doubt or alienation to love.

5. *The return of the novice*

Having been released from his captivity our novice is now led step by step along the ascetic way back—or forwards—to his homeland. In the first part of the parable he was defined as a double *peregrinus*; first alienated from his fellow soldiers, then held captive in a foreign land. However, as in the first parable, in Par III the entry of Fear and Obedience marks the appearance of a *viator*. The novice begins a purposeful striving towards the homeland along a way which is shown to him step by step by his various hosts. The consecutive passages of the parable show how the *viator* is defined to himself as *viator*. This definition is signposted by the obliteration of old vices in an infusion of new knowledge. It is a process which echoes Gra XIV.49 where, through asceticism, man is renewed day by day (cf. 2 Cor 4.16) in a renewal of intention, affection, and memory (*de intentione, affectione et memoria*) thereby proceeding gradually from the depths towards the

things above (*de imis paulatim ad superna*). The fact that the novice is now accompanied by his hosts is a remarkable reversion of his original solo act, stressing the fact that from this point, the novice does not rely upon himself but subjects himself to the discipline imposed on him. By the same token his succour in the supportive and mortifying hands of the virtues is a significant anti-typos of his earlier ordeal in the cruel and vile hands of the Babylonians.

The way is represented as an increasing cognition, on the part of the novice of the spiritual topography and its different stages. First, he is made to understand his locus of departure as well as that of return. When learning this, he is enlightened as to the extent of the topography and his own position within it. Not surprisingly, this acknowledgement entails knowledge of him, his roots, and thereby the purpose of his striving. He then receives the strength that enables him to accomplish his journey of return; the *viator* obtains his *viaticum*. Without mentioning Christ, this point seems to allude indirectly to the incarnation as a consoling exhibition of the love of God. The sojourns with Counsel, Understanding, and Wisdom respectively stress the advancing degree of illumination which accompanies his topographical progression. The sojourn with Counsel hints at the achievement of the *liberum concilium* thus presented by Gra IV.12: "Freedom of counsel they possess merely in part, that is, the few spiritual ones among them, who have crucified their flesh with its passions and desires, so that sin no longer reigns in their mortal body."[30]

This journey of return is aimed at enabling the novice to orientate himself, literally indeed to determine his position in relation to the East. The orientation is brought about by means of knowledge of his precise position within the spiritual topography. Thus, his return is a narrativization of the fundamental demand to "know yourself" as the point of departure for spiritual progress.

6. *Mount Abarim*

The final ascent of the mountain also strikes the note of *De gradibus humilitatis*:

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[30] "Nam libertas consilii ex parte tantum, et hoc in paucis spiritualibus, qui carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis, quatenus iam non regnet peccatum in eorum mortali corpore." Gra IV.12; Winkler I: 190. O'Donovan's translation, 68.

> […] Humility is a virtue, by which a man has a low opinion of himself because he knows himself well. This is the virtue that belongs to those who have set their hearts to the climb and have gone from virtue to virtue, from step to step, until they reached the highest peak of humility and gazed upon truth from the watch-tower of Zion.[31]

In the concluding passage of the parable, the mountain of Abarim, from which Moses according to Num 27.12 finally gazes upon the promised land, is merged with the mountain of Rev 21.10: "And in the spirit he carried me away to a great, high mountain and showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God",[32] elaborated with the prevalent etymological interpretation of Jerusalem, originating in Philo, as *visio pacis*.[33] Through the reference to Abarim, the way that has been travelled by the novice is shown retrospectively as a purifying desert crossing similar to that of Exodus, just as the prospective vista viewed from this mountain is marked by an expectation of a view of the new homeland.

The parable thus adds, to the key topographical *personae* already mentioned, an implicit allusion to Moses. Now he is generally one of the figures linked to a particular locus yet also to the action related to it. Mention has already been made of Pharaoh, who is related to Egypt and the furious and reiterated pursuit of the Israelites, Nebuchadnezzar, who is associated with Babylon as well as the siege and captivity of the Israelites, and finally David, who is related to Jerusalem and brings a range of regal connotations, but who also acts as the singer chanting the experiences of the Psalms.

In addition to these figures there is a second group of topographical types rooted in a more comprehensive topographical context. These figures attain a certain symbolic status encompassing both a range of different loci and a range of related actions. The two most prominent examples of this kind of figure are the prodigal son and Moses. Already in Par I, we saw the prodigal son associated with the topoi of both the homeland, the distant land, and the homeland once again; in

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[31] "[…] humilitas est virtus, qua homo verissima sui cognitione sibi ipse vilescit. Haec autem convenit his, qui ascensionibus in corde suo dispositis, de virtute in virtutem, id est de gradu in gradum proficiunt, donec ad culmen humilitatis perveniant, in quo velut in Sion, id est in speculatione, positi, veritatem prospiciant." Hum I.2; Winkler II: 46. Conway's translation, 30. The passage refers to Ps 83.6.

[32] Vulgate: "et sustulit me in spiritu in montem magnum et altum et ostendit mihi civitatem sanctam Hierusalem descendentem de caelo a Deo".

[33] *De somniis* II.250. Timmermann 1982, 110.

the elaborated Bernardine version the places of the prodigal son were Paradise, *regio dissimilitudinis*, and heavenly homeland. He was moreover associated with the activities of departure, abasement, regret, return; postures which in the Bernardine version were interpreted as Fall, enslavement by sin, conversion, and union with God.

Moses has the same symbolically comprehensive character. He brings with him the whole complexity of topoi related to the Exodus narrative and their related actions, and moreover a range of specific incidents. He illustrates well a fundamental quality of typology. In the words of SC 56, David "[…] though speaking of Moses was contemplating Christ. For [Christ] is the true Moses who came indeed by water, though 'not by water only, but by water and blood' (1 Jn 5.6)."[34] A significant example of a more literally rooted allusion to Moses is found in Bernard's address to Pope Eugene III on the catastrophic outcome of the second crusade. In Csi II.I.2, Bernard describes how Moses led the people out of Egypt but not into the promised land, and that while on their way this people turned to Egypt in their hearts. In this passage Moses is the one who leaves Egypt, but also the impeccable leader who cannot be blamed for the flaws of his people. In Par III, Moses is first and foremost the 'inhabitant' of Mount Abarim. His presence accentuates the ambience of Exodus introduced at this stage of the parable; it adds typological flavour to the endeavours of the novice, and biblical substance to his experience: it also sustains the topographical structures permeating the narrative.

The topos of the promised land is also caught in this peculiar tension between being at once a *figura* and an anti-*figura* of the celestial *patria*. On the one hand, Bernard stresses points of identity which endow the heavenly homeland with characteristics of the promised land, for instance in Sent II.83 savouring the delight of the heavenly home, which flows with milk and honey (*amoenitas caelestium mansionum, quae fluit lacte et melle*). On the other hand, he points to the promised land as something inadequate and utterly material:

> 'The voice of the turtledove is heard in our land.' As long as men's reward for worshipping God was only of the earth, even the earth that flows with milk and honey, they failed to see themselves as pilgrims on

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[34] "[…] et quidem Moysen loquens, sed Dominum intuens. Ipse enim verus est Moyses, qui vere per aquam venit, et non in aqua tantum, sed in aqua et sanguine." SC 56.I.2 (with reference to Jn 5.6); Winkler VI: 244. Walsh and Edmonds's translation, III: 89. See also O Pasc 1.5.

earth, nor did they mourn like the turtle-dove as if recalling their home-
land. Instead they confused exile with homeland, pampering themselves
with rich foods and drinking honeyed wine.[35]

The promised land is only a provisional goal, an earthly land quite
unequal to the spiritual land which is to come. Once again, it is stressed
that the *viator* must not settle too soon; and in that respect even the
promised land may take the shape of terrestrial essentiality. In Par III,
Moses is of significance as the one who sees the promised land from a
mountain, while also inherently implying the departure from Egypt and
the desert wandering. The question is, however, what kind of promised
land it is that he and the novice see. But first a brief excursus on the
mountain as a vantage point from which insight is achieved by means
of outlook.

a. Excursus on mountains: A question of point of view

The fourth sermon for Ascension is a highly alpine text. Bernard points
to a range of mountains that have served as locales of ascents related
to the ontological-soteriological history of man. The sermon thus points
towards perpendicular moments in salvation history, without discarding
the horizontal dimension insofar as the mountain relates to the land-
scape.

The sermon recounts how mountains have been the locales of three
crucial events. First, Satan ascended a mountain when he had been
expelled from heaven and he became the Devil on a mountain (4.3).
Second, it was on a mountain that he offered to show man good and
evil (4.4). Third and finally, God descended to a mountain in the incar-
nation. In this regard it is stated that there was nowhere to which the
highest one could ascend, so instead he descended, namely from the
mountain of power (*potentia*) and the power of knowledge (*scientia*); how-
ever, in doing so, he ascended the mountain of goodness (*bonitatis*) and
love (*caritas*) (4.6). From this last mountain Bernard approaches a new
range of mountains, the first being that of the transfiguration (Mt 17.4).
To ascend this mountain is to rise above the considerations of terrestrial

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[35] "Vox turturis audita est in terra nostra (Song 2.12). Donec homines pro Dei
cultu mercedem tantum in terra, et tantum terram acceperunt, illam utique lacte et
melle manantem, minime se cognoverunt peregrinos super terram, nec more turturis
ingemuerunt veluti patriae reminiscentes; magis autem pro patria exsilio abutentes,
dederunt se comedere pinguia et bibere mulsum." SC 59.II.4; Winkler VI: 288. Walsh
and Edmonds's translation, III: 123.

life, keeping the eyes on celestial glory. The second mountain is the way
of truth, by which man may achieve the goal of which he caught sight
at the first mountain. The third mountain represents perseverance: by
prayer man may receive power to do (second mountain) what he sees
(first mountain).

Asc 4 is an instructive example of the way in which Bernard enters
his geographical universe and approaches its structure from different
angles in an attempt to reach the most comprehensive vision of the
incomprehensible. The sermon is begun with an account of an etiologi-
cal past and then cuts to a terrestrial point of view. In this way Bernard
suggests an isolation of the earth from heaven or even a combination
of earth and hell. This is the situation into which Christ descends and
from which he ascends. Because of this act man may direct his view
from earth towards heaven. Bernard invites his audience to look briefly
backwards on these etiological mountains while still keeping an eye on
heaven—after all, it is Ascension Day. Then he returns rapidly to the
present in order to explore the consequences of incarnation for the
future and describes the main element of Ascension as the restoration
to man of that future which was decisively disturbed in the Fall.

In his sermon, Bernard travels through this mountainous landscape
setting up the different topoi and creating a frame of reference for his
exposition of salvation history. However, this exposition is best done
from the vantage point *par excellence*, the cross of Christ. At the end of
the sermon Bernard mounts the cross with Christ in order to see what
the world looks like from this most elevated place:

> Besides, follow him ascending the cross, raised from the earth, so that in
> the height of your mind you may stand not only above yourself but also
> above the whole world, looking down at and despising everything that is
> on earth beneath, as it is written: They discern the earth from afar.[36]

This conclusion is a remarkable reversal of the point of view of Heb
11.13–16, where the celestial homeland is greeted from a distance. While
making the cross his vantage point, Bernard maintains the reference to
the overall scope of the sermon and its complex of biblical mountains
from which a vista opens. In the beginning of the sermon it was
shown how, when seen from below, the world threatens to hold man

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[36] "Sequere etiam ascendentem in crucem, exaltatum a terra, ut non solum super te,
sed et super omnem quoque mundum mentis fastigio colloceris, universa quae in terris
sunt deorsum aspiciens et despiciens, sicut scriptum est: CERNENT TERRAM DE LONGE (Is
33.17)." Asc 4.13; Winkler VIII: 366.

down. Indeed it would show itself terrible as hell, were it not for the momentum imparted by the celestial aim. Now, seen from the bird's eye view, the world is simply a place to be despised; the soul is safe clinging to the high cross, removed from the earth though still living in it, alienating itself from alienation. This soaring ascent is no mere *tour de force*. Both the mountains and the cross mark topoi from which a spiritual recognition should develop. In Bernard, the recognition begins *in carne*, elaborating from the visible towards the invisible. These topoi mark the carnal or material point of departure for recognition of the human position within the spiritual topography. From these material vantage points one may consider both the post-lapsarian alienation and the grace of Christ by means of which this alienation is modified to the point of dispensation.

In Par III, the ascent of the mountain marks the conclusion of the novice's frenzied action. What is it, then, that he sees from Abarim? Apparently, he looks into the heavenly Jerusalem, the celestial homeland, the topos of the *visio pacis*. Two related meanings may be detected in this view. The view from Abarim may be a view of the celestial homeland signifying a partial vision with strong implications of the beatific union with God. Or it may be a view of the celestial homeland signifying the fact that the *viator* has become aware of the goal towards which he strives. In the latter case, Moses is important as a detaining character. He never entered the promised land himself, and his presence may stress that he and the novice greet the heavenly homeland from a distance without yet being able to enter. The other, and related, possibility is that the novice is facing the anticipatory Jerusalem of the monastery, thereby marking that his tumultuous noviciate is about to be terminated, and that he is now monk and Jerusalemite. The two possibilities are not mutually exclusive, and in both cases the crux is that the novice has completed a progressive return.

7. *Topographical plot*

Though presenting the same basic staging as the previous parable, the topographical scope of Par III is more radical. The familiar opposition of the two cities is soon exchanged for a new and distressing scenario. While fixedly watching the novice setting out from Jerusalem we thus suddenly find ourselves within the walls of Babylon, and Jerusalem seems at once a memory of something lost. The cruel locus of Babylon

is contrasted with the relative safety of the first Jerusalem, the beneficial asceticism of the way back, and the quiescence in the celestial and monastic Jerusalem. The edifying exertions of the *viator* under the guidance of the virtues contrast with both the uncontrolled violence in Babylon and the peace that is obtained in Jerusalem. Thus the parable goes through a basic *viator*-motif: the divergence between the laborious striving *in via* and the peace waiting *in patria* is a constitutive *topos* of the theme of the *viator*.

However, if the debasement of the novice is radical, so is his elevation. It takes him all the way to a vista of his heavenly homeland. This parable also offers a number of gaps and transitions. The one between Jerusalem and the battlefield the novice crosses voluntarily and even eagerly. The gap between battlefield and Babylon, however, he is lured into crossing. Thus this parable echoes Par I's depiction of how the king's son departed from Paradise of his own will but was then carried by force to *regio dissimilitudinis*. The novice is thus turned into a *peregrinus* by his own actions. However, to create a *viator* requires the introduction of gracious virtues, and only by means of what might be defined as the hand of grace, held out from the homeland, is he able to initiate as well as fulfil the return.

The career of the novice marks out an axis of potential "You are here" marks. The first composite point of identification is his failure at the beginning of the parable, whether this is considered the pursuit of vainglory in a monastic version of the old knighthood, a hypocritical wish to show off his ascetic prowess, or a sincere wish to fight sin which unhappily relies on an overestimate of his own strength. The second is his release from captivity by the virtues Fear and Obedience. The third one is the series of stages in his gradual progress in illumination and recognition.

The key theme of the parable is that of focus and concentration. The novice sets out with the wrong focus. He aims at fighting Fornication although he is not sufficiently equipped, lacking as he does, the succour of his fellow soldiers. Moreover he has not grasped that by challenging Fornication he is in fact approaching Babylon and what is more, at a gallop. The first part thus exhibits quite a Babylonian confusion of focus. This confusion is caused by the novice's disregard of the commands of his superior. When Fear and Obedience appear, the focus of the novice is corrected as one component in his general improvement. From this point onwards, the novice's eyes are fixed on the homeland from which the father calls. At each of the different steps along his way

he is reminded partly that Babylon is the topos he is striving to leave completely behind, partly that when rushing towards Babylon he left Jerusalem behind, and, most importantly, that Jerusalem is the topos he is aiming at.

In short, this is a parable about how one may stray into alienation— and get back to the homeland again, by a road which is different and yet the same.

PARABOLA IV, DE ECCLESIA QUAE CAPTIVA ERAT IN AEGYPTO

I. *Summary*

1. "The kingdom of heaven is like a king who celebrated the nuptials of his son. As the day approached the father discussed with the son his choice of bride. The son replied that his choice was and had always been Ecclesia."[1] But the father said: "But she is captured, held in Egypt where she serves in mud and bricks (cf. Ex 1.4), she is sold to sin. Pharaoh's heart is hardened against her." "But I," said the son, "shall go to Egypt and release her with my strong hand; and I shall give the price of my blood against the price for which she was bought by sin, that is, the delight in sin."

"But the law demands the consent of the bride," the father said. "That will be sought," answered the son, "I have found my servant David a man after my heart. I shall send him with his zither to Egypt to speak to her." So David went to Egypt. He had prepared a most sweet wedding song: "Listen, O daughter, give ear to my words. Forget your own people and your father's house, for the king has desired your beauty and he is the Lord, your God."[2] And Isaiah who accompanied him exclaimed when he saw her in chains: "Arise, O arm of the Lord, arise and be clothed in strength. Be lifted up. Be lifted up. Arise, O Jerusalem, and cast the chains from your neck, O captive daughter of Zion."[3]

2. When other patriarchs and prophets had announced what they had to say, Ecclesia realized that it was the grace of God, and she said with

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[1] "SIMILE EST REGNUM CAELORUM HOMINI REGI, QUI FECIT NUPTIAS FILIO SUO (Mt 22.2). Cumque dies instaret nuptiarum, consuluit pater filium, quam vellet ducere. Ille se elegisse et praeelegisse Ecclesiam respondit a saeculo." Par IV.1; Winkler IV: 838. Casey's translation, 53. I follow Casey in keeping rather than translating "Ecclesia" thus maintaining the parable's strong trait of personification.

[2] Ps 44.11–12, Vulgate: "audi filia et vide et inclina aurem tuam et obliviscere populi tui et domus patris tui et concupiscet rex decorum tuum quia ipse est dominus tuus". Casey's translation, 54.

[3] A combination of Isa 51.9, Vulgate: "consurge consurge induere fortitudinem brachium Domini", 51.17: "elevare elevare consurge Hierusalem", and 52.2: "solve vincula colli tui captiva filia Sion". Casey's translation, 54.

the words of Abigail: "Who will give me the chance to be a handmaid to the servants of my Lord, so that I may wash the feet of the servants of my Lord?"[4] And like Abigail she got up from the dust, mounted an ass, that is overcame flesh, and followed the servants of the king. And the bridegroom came running towards her, cheerful and in a festive mood, and with her free will, he led her into the city of his kingdom and into his chamber. And he set her on his bed of love and with his left hand under her head embraced her with his right. "I adjure you, daughters of Jerusalem, do not rouse or waken the bride until she wills it."[5] He kissed her with the kiss of his mouth and bade her farewell. Then he left for a distant land to obtain the kingship (Lk 19.12) and to return again, and through Hosea he told her: "You will wait for me a long time and you will be without priests and sacrifices."[6]

3. But when Pharaoh found out about the groom's absence, he left with his whole army of evil to persecute Ecclesia. Soon he found her camp. He caught Peter and crucified Andrew, decapitated Paul, exiled John, stoned Stephen. When Ecclesia saw that her defenders were turned into sheep for slaughter, she groaned, and her bitterness was great. But the earth of Ecclesia was nourished by the blood of the martyrs, and gave back the sprouts of the faithful, and she flourished rather than succumbed.

4. But when her enemy found out in his cruel villainy, he roared. He held back the persecution, called back the sword, and changed his plan. "No enemy is worse than one from one's own house. I shall shed discord upon their leaders and 'make them leave the path and wander from the way.'[7] And when they shout: 'Peace, peace!' there will be no peace. Instead I shall cause heresies and schisms to rise among them and civil war in order to bring disorder to everything." So he said, and soon the terrible and orderly army of Ecclesia was no longer terrible but in disarray. The enemies stood far away laughing. They struck Ecclesia with sorrow and unbearable pain through laughter and insults. The bitterness, great at first, became even greater when her flesh was torn in pieces by her own sons. But Christian soldiers grasped the arms of faith, and in manly fashion they destroyed the vice in their own ranks: Alexander destroyed Arius, Augustine Manicheus (sic) and many others, and Jerome

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[4] "'QUIS', inquit, 'ME DET IN ANCILLAM SERVORUM DOMINI MEI, UT LAVEM PEDES SERVO-RUM DOMINI MEI?'" Par IV.2; Winkler IV: 840 referring to 1 Sam 25.41, Bernard's quotation is not from Vulgate. Casey's translation, 54.

[5] A contracted version of Song 3.5, Vulgate: "adiuro vos filiae Hierusalem […] ne suscitetis neque evigilare faciatis dilectam donec ipsa velit". Casey's translation, 54.

[6] "'Multo tempore me exspectabis, et non erit tibi sacerdos, neque sacrificium.'" Par IV.2; Winkler IV: 840, referring to Hos 3.3–4 in a version which is not that of Vulgate. Casey's translation, 54.

[7] "[…] errare eos faciam in invio et non in via." Par IV.4; Winkler IV: 842. Casey's translation, 56.

the Epicurean Jovinian, and others drove off other heresies and schisms. Thus they restored peace and joy to Ecclesia.

5. When the sinner saw this, he became envious and flew into a rage, gnashing his teeth, and, preparing a new war, he turned to the arms of spiritual evil. He assembled the leaders of his army, the spirits of forni-cation, gluttony, and avarice and sent them into the camp of Ecclesia. They found everybody sleeping and drunk in the night, and they turned everything upside down. Soon everybody began to love himself, and they sought only what was good for themselves. They did not serve God but their own will and pleasure. And they took away each tunic of love, any purple cloak of faith dyed with the precious blood of the lamb which the bridegroom had used to cover the nudity of the bride. They stripped her without dressing themselves. Those who should have guarded her left her naked. They compelled her, as much as they could, to leave the world.

6. But crying and weeping with naked shame and seat uncovered (*nudata turpitudine et discoopertis natibus*) she lamented that she was thus exposed to laughter. She pleaded with her sons, but they did not pity her. So with both hands and all her strength she held small pieces of monastic and canonical life to her heart and vital parts.

7. These are our times, and dangerous times they are for Ecclesia. The three woes are past; but there remains one last woe, when Satan's angel transfigures himself and appears as God. But his mystery of injustice is already performed, his heralds shout insults from all sides of Ecclesia, "Look, there he is, look, here he is" (cf. Lk 17.23–24). But, O bride of Christ, do not believe it, do not go, but stay with your groom, who does not despise you or forget you in your trials. And come, Lord, come to liberate them, God of hosts, you who live and rule in eternity. Amen.

II. *Discussion*

Par IV is set in three stages: First, the introduction to the wedding and the wedding itself; this part takes place in the home of father and son, in Egypt, and in the *cubiculum* of the bridegroom. Second, the collective *psychomachia*, as it were, of *Ecclesia peregrinans*, in which Ecclesia is at once locus and participant in the battle; this takes place in a composite topography of ways, forts, and territory. The third stage calls for Ecclesia to stay on the right track and for the *parousia* to take place.[8] The parable maintains its allegorical storyline throughout; not once is the king's son referred to explicitly as Christ, just as the father remains

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[8] Sent III.122 bears a high degree of resemblance with this parable.

simply "the father". Only in Par IV.5 is Jesus mentioned—as the goal that Ecclesia ought to follow; and it is not till the final non-parabolic entreaty that Ecclesia is named *sponsa Christi*. In its thin allegorical guise, the parable has a significant Christological frame of resonance, hitherto absent from the parables apart from the brief appearance of Christ as the king of Jerusalem in Par II.

1. *The home of the king and his son*

The first stage presents a domestic scenario with father and son talking on equal terms. The parable is launched like Par I on familial lines. But the introductory stage of this parable is very different in tone from the garden-scene at the beginning of the first parable, in which the king's son was declared the heir and brought up by a number of tutors. Par IV begins with two *domini*, planning salvation history. As a contrast to this topos, attention is directed to the situation of the bride who is enslaved in Egypt, seen here from a divine point of view. With Meyer's reading of Goethe's *Novelle* in mind, this opening may be considered a *Spiegelung* of the frequent yearning glances towards the celestial region in Bernard; and the parable exemplifies his authorial movements within the topography, redirecting his point of view in order to lay out different mappings.

2. *Egypt*

Par I introduced Egypt indirectly in the shape of Pharaoh pursuing the Israelites. In Par IV, another aspect of this location is in focus: Egypt here is a place of bondage. A more elaborate exposition of the figure of Egypt and Israel's thraldom is offered in Div 71, which has the shape of a brief and rounded parable with the interpretation attached. In this sermon, Bernard first urges his audience to consider a history in summary in order to reap the moral fruits (*Historias igitur summatim delibantes, moralitatis fructus decerpamus*). This is the story of Jacob/Israel who turns towards Egypt in times of famine (from Gen 42) and eventually goes there with his household to be reunited with his son Joseph (Gen 46), leading up to the depiction of the slavery of the Israelites at the beginning of Exodus. In Bernard's version

> A famine drives Israel to go to Egypt: there, it immediately finds a new master and is turned from free to slave. Through habitation in his land, it is brought under Pharaoh's power. He orders that male [children] be

killed and female spared. Israel is sorely afflicted through work with clay and bricks. Pharaoh provides the chaff for the workers, hunger drives them.[9]

In his sermon, Bernard proceeds with an interpretation of the story through analogies: It is not the hunger for bread but that for the Word of God which drives many people to Egypt. This Word of God is the light. He who lacks the light of God enters darkness, that is Egypt: "This is covered by the darkness of ignorance and subjected to the dominion of Pharaoh, that is the Devil who is the prince of Egypt, that is darkness".[10] The chaff that Pharaoh provides is light intentions (*leves cogitationes*) which easily catches fire, just like the evil thoughts sent by the Devil. But if we exert ourselves to resist them, Bernard concludes, they will be extinguished with the aid of God.[11]

Div 71 provides a significant analogical structure. It has the shape of a parable on a par with some of Galand's meticulously annotated parabolic narratives yet is dissimilar from the Bernardine *corpus* of *parabolae* in its tight allegorical organization, thus stressing, once again, the more open-ended character of these texts. It is moreover noteworthy how specific features of each of the items are selected and elaborated. This goes for instance for the famine driving Jacob to Egypt. Bernard's handling of the biblical narrative plays down Gen 45.28, which states that it is the news that Joseph is alive and living in Egypt which makes his father decide to go. This pertains also to the chaff, the combustibility of which becomes the primary analogical impetus. First and foremost, however, the passage is significant in this context because it offers another instance of Egypt as the darkness into which the light of Christ is introduced. The role ascribed to Egypt imparts to both Div 71 and Par IV a typological flavour.

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[9] "Fames cogit Israel intrare Aegyptum; statim reperit ibi novum dominum, et de libero servus efficitur. Ex illius regionis inhabitatione redigitur sub potestate Pharaonis, qui masculos praecepit interfici, feminas reservari. Israel operibus luti et lateris duriter affligitur, Pharaoh paleas ministrat laborantibus, fames cogit." Div 71.1; Winkler IX: 632. For a comparison of Israel's journey to Egypt because of hunger and that of the prodigal son to a *regio longinqua* in which he adheres to one of the citizens (*uni civium* [...] *adhaesisse*), i.e. one of the evil spirits, see Div 8.3; Winkler IX: 244–246.

[10] "Involvitur enim tenebris ignorantiae et subiacet dominio Pharaonis, id est diaboli, qui princeps est Aegypti, hoc est tenebrarum [...]" Div 71.2; Winkler IX: 632.

[11] When the newborn Jesus is brought to Egypt in order that he may be saved from Herod's anger (Mt 2.13–21), it is, according to Bernard, a kind of radicalization of incarnation: a further immersion into terrestriality; he is then no longer recognizable as

In Par IV, Ecclesia is induced to leave her slavery by the son's messengers, notably David and Isaiah. Both of these, together with Abigail and eventually Hosea, exemplify what may be considered a personified biblical reference.[12] The figures of the Bible are employed as *dramatis personae* who speak their original biblical lines and thus inaugurate a quite explicit and direct integration of the biblical context. The figure of Ecclesia encompasses both Israel held captive in Egypt and the figure of Abigail married to the surly Nabal yet wooed by David and in turn, when the Lord has struck Nabal, married to the king (1 Sam 25).

3. *The* cubiculum

Now, the bride is now freed from Egypt and both she and the plot of the parable shift to the manifestation of the son's love for her. This is set in the *cubiculum*, located in the son's kingdom. This *cubiculum* is not that of, for instance, SC 23, which follows the garden and the cellar as the final stage of a spiritual union. Nor is it that *cubiculum* which is a resting place for the soul (SC 32.9–10). The *cubiculum* of Par IV seems in the first instance to be the location of Christ's incarnational bestowal of grace on his Church. It is thus after all related to the other *cubicula* on a more general level as a place where union with Christ takes place.

Whereas the first three parables focus on the individual, Par IV is concerned with salvation history on a collective scale.[13] Nevertheless, the collective and individual aspects of the relation between *sponsus* and *sponsa* are closely interwoven. On the one hand, the bride is the Church; in the words of SC 68.1: "[…] who then is the Bride, and who is the Bridegroom? The Bridegroom is our God, and we, I say in all humility, are the Bride—we, and the whole multitude of captives whom he acknowledges".[14] In short, "What is the Bride but the congregation of the righteous?"[15] Further,

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son of God or king of heaven (*nec Dei Filius agnosci poterat, nec rex caeli*) Pasc 1.11. See also V Nat 3.9 pointing out that Christ lead Mary to Egypt and out of Egypt again.

   [12] Reminding of the direct address to Paul in Asspt 2.3.

   [13] See also Timmermann 1982, 153.

   [14] "Quae est sponsa, et quis est sponsus? Hic Deus noster est, et illa, si audeo dicere, nos sumus, cum reliqua quidem multitudine captivorum, quos ipse novit." SC 68.I.1; Winkler VI: 406. Edmonds's translation, IV: 17.

   [15] "Et quid sponsa, nisi congregatio iustorum?" SC 68.I.3; Winkler VI: 410. Edmonds's translation, IV: 20.

> What shall we say, each one of us? Do we think that there is any among us to whom the Bride's words can be applied? Do I say 'Any among us?' I think myself that any inquiry would show that there is no member of the Church to whom it may not be applied in some degree. But one does not deal with an individual in the same way as with many people. It was not for one soul, but for many who should be gathered up into the one Church, his only Bride, that God wrought so great a work at so great a cost, 'working salvation in the midst of the earth' (Ps 73.12).[16]

Elsewhere, however, the bridal status of the Church is represented as overflowing, as it were, into the individual soul; in SC 12, Bernard says of the Church:

> With the bold assurance of one confident that her breasts are better than wine and redolent of the choicest perfumes, she lays claim to the title of bride. And although none of us will dare arrogate for his own soul the title of bride of the Lord, nevertheless we are members of the Church which rightly boasts of this title and of the reality that it signifies, and hence may justifiably assume a share in this honor. For what all of us simultaneously possess in a full and perfect manner, that each single one of us undoubtedly possesses by participation.[17]

This thought may, however, also be expressed with less reservation: "[…] even one soul, if it loves God dearly, wisely, and ardently, is the Bride […]".[18] In the parable, the bride is the Church with undercurrents pertaining to the individual soul which participates in the congregational whole.

The parabolic scene in the chamber takes the shape of a rudimentary version of the corpus of sermons on the Song of Songs. It is based on the two highlights, as it were: "kiss me with the kiss of your mouth"

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[16] "Quid singulus quisque nostrum? Putamusne in nobis quempiam esse, cui aptari queat quod dicitur? Quid dixi: in nobis? Ego autem, et de quovis intra Ecclesiam constituto si quis hoc quaerat, non omnino reprehendum censuerim. Nec enim una unius ratio est atque multorum. Denique non propter animam unam, sed propter multas in unam Ecclesiam colligendas, in unicam adstringendus sponsam, Deus tam multa et fecit et pertulit, cum OPERATUS EST SALUTEM IN MEDIO TERRAE (Ps 73.12)." SC 68.II.4; Winkler VI: 410. Edmonds's translation, IV: 20.

[17] "Ipsa audacter secureque sese nominat sponsam, tamquam quae vere habet ubera meliora vino, ac fragrantia unguentis optimis. Quod etsi nemo nostrum sibi arrogare praesumat, ut animam suam quis audeat sponsam Domini appellare, quoniam tamen de Ecclesia sumus, quae merito hoc nomine et re nominis gloriatur, non immerito gloriae huius participium usurpamus. Quod enim simul omnes plene integreque possidemus, hoc singuli sine contradictione participamus." SC 12.VII.11; Winkler V: 182. Walsh's translation, I: 86.

[18] "[…] nam et una, si Deum dulciter, sapienter, vehementer amat, sponsa est […]" SC 73.III.10; Winkler VI: 492. Edmonds's translation, IV: 83.

of Song 1.2[19] and "his left hand is under my head and with the right one he embraces me" of Song 2.6.[20] Perhaps owing to its being aimed at an inclusive audience, however, the parable is rather laconic in its nuptial allusions.

4. *Departures*

The bridegroom for instance takes his leave with a somewhat prosaic variant of the sweet kiss of Song 1, the elaboration of which in the sermons on the Song takes up seven sermons. In the parable "He kissed her with the kiss of his lips; then, saying farewell, he set out for a distant land to receive a kingdom and thence to return."[21] This departure is the reversal of the arrival from a distant land reflected in Adv 1.7, where it is told that Christ descended from "such a distant place to such an unworthy place" ("[…] de tam longinquo, in locum tam indignum […]").[22]

The withdrawal of the groom, and the bride left behind, is a recurrent theme associated with both the ascension of Christ and the departure of the bridegroom of Song. This parabolic bride is acquiescent in a way untypical of Bernardine evocations of this situation. She betrays none of the widowed desolation of the Church left behind in SC 73. Nor does she reflect the despair of the bride of SC 74 who shows little deference in her yearning for the groom:

> 'Return', she says. Clearly he whom she calls back is not there, yet he has been, not long before, for she seems to be calling him back at the moment of his going. So importunate a recall shows great love on the part of the one and great loveliness on the part of the other.[23]

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[19] Vulgate (1.1): "Osculetur me osculo oris sui".

[20] Vulgate "leva eius sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me".

[21] "Osculansque eam osculo oris sui, et valedicens ei abiit in regionem longinquam accipere sibi regnum, et reverti (Lk 19.12)." Par IV.2; Winkler IV: 840. Casey's translation, 55.

[22] Adv 1.7; Winkler VII: 68. The sentence elaborates a reference from Isa 30.27: "See, the name of the Lord comes from far away […]"; Vulgate: "ecce nomen Domini venit de longinquo".

[23] "Revertere (Song 2.17), inquit. Liquet non adesse quem revocat; affuisse tamen, idque non longe ante: quippe qui, dum adhuc abiret, revocari videtur. Intempestiva revocatio, magni unius amoris, magnae alterius amabilitatis indicium est." SC 74.I.1; Winkler VI: 492. Edmonds's translation, IV: 85. For an analysis of this sermon, see Pranger 1994, 314–329.

Nor does the bride of this parable display any of the restlessness of SC 76's bride in her search for Christ who, however, having completed his work on earth, has entered glory: "But in the meantime the Bride has no such thoughts, but runs hither and thither, as though besotted with love, seeking with her eyes for him who can now be discerned not by sight but by faith."[24] There is also little trace of the Ascension-experience of those left behind, expressed in the sermons for Ascension: "Today, the Lord of heaven has penetrated the heights of heaven with celestial power […] but we are in this region where there is very much evil and too little wisdom".[25] Finally, the idea that the departure or ascent of the bridegroom anticipates that of the ecclesiastical bride has left no impact on the parable, despite its resonance in the treatment of Ascension elsewhere:

> But what have I to do with this feast if my life is still constantly held down on earth? Who would indeed presume to desire an ascent into heaven, unless because he who has descended ascends first? Therefore I tell you: to me this residence of exile would seem not much more tolerable than hell, had not the Lord of hosts left us a seed of trust and expectation, when he was elevated into the clouds and gave hope to believers.[26]

The bride of Par IV, however, is silent as the narrative point of view moves irrevocably from the celestial realms down to her level: wordless she watches the groom disappear.

5. *Babylon and Egypt*

Egypt now breaks loose. The old enemy strikes again. In contrast with the parable's first view of this place, the point of view is now sited not with the father but *in medias res*, establishing a "You are here" mark with merciless clarity in the middle of the Devil's attack. Pharaoh is

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[24] "At ista interim nihil horum advertit; sed quasi ebria prae amore hac illacque discurrens, quaerit oculis quem iam oculus non contingit, sed fides." SC 76.I.2; Winkler VI: 524. Edmonds's translation, IV: 111.

[25] "Hodie caelorum Dominus caelorum alta caelesti potentia penetravit […] Nos autem in regione ista sumus, ubi plurimum est malitiae, sapientiae parum […]" Asc 3.1; Winkler VIII: 332.

[26] "Verumtamen quid mihi et sollemnitatibus istis, si conversatio mea usque adhuc detinetur in terris? Quis vero vel desiderare praesumeret ascensum caeli, nisi quia is qui descenderat prior ascendit? Dico ergo vobis: Non multo mihi tolerabilior videretur exsilii huius habitatio quam gehenna, nisi Dominus Sabaoth reliquisset nobis semen fiduciae et exspectationis, quando elevatus est nubibus et spem fecit credentibus." Asc 4.1; Winkler VIII: 346.

once again the pursuer. The light shed on Egypt as a topos of slav-
ery is introduced with clear reference to the Exodus narrative. The
soul is freed, Egypt is left behind and everything seems safe. How-
ever, the mere fact that the bride is initially enslaved in Egypt rather
than in Babylon should have warned us that the safety is relative.
Thus, the fact that Egypt comes back or springs forth to pursue Eccle-
sia recalls the essential ferocity of this topos and its diabolic inhabi-
tants.

   In this parable, Egypt plays that constitutive evil part which in Par II
and III was played by Babylon. Both Babylon and Egypt symbolize a
state of sin. Timmermann tells us that

> Diese beiden alttestamentlichen Feinde des auserwählten Volkes haben,
> wie bereits ausgeführt, dieselbe allegorische Bedeutung. Sie verweisen
> hier in gleicher Weise auf den Zustand der Sünde und der Unterwerfung
> unter den Teufel, dem der Mensch vor der Inkarnation nicht entfliehen
> konnte.[27]

The two loci are to a great extent interchangeable, and often their
connotations overlap. As one explicit example of this may be mentioned
Sent III.116, which offers us a scenario resembling that of Par IV.
There the son of the king leaves his bride and returns to his father,
commending her to the apostles, upon which the king of Babylon
schemes to abduct her. Nevertheless, on a more general level, there
seem to be slight differences in nuance. Babylon and Nebuchadnezzar
are symbols of confusion, concordant with the etymology of Babel (Gen
11.9), as well as of siege, captivity, and violence. Babylon is also a place
of memory (Ps 136), a place where the *peregrinus* longs for his homeland.
Pharaoh and Egypt are symbols of suppression, slavery, and unrelenting
pursuit. They are also symbols for the satiation of carnal needs, as in
the Israelites' longing for the fleshpots of Egypt discussed in relation
with Par I. It may moreover be suggested that Egypt is a place of
oblivion, a place where the *peregrinus* is in danger of forgetting his true
homeland and becoming an Egyptian.

   Finally, while admitting that the map should not be considered in
any too concrete or fixed a way, it does seem that there is a differ-
ence in the manner in which Egypt and Babylon are employed in rela-
tion to the monastery. Thus Egypt is a location which is symbolically
positioned immediately outside the monastic wall: where monks go in

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[27] Timmermann 1982, 155.

case of recidivism. Babylon is the radical other of the *civitas Dei* of the monastery: the basic post-lapsarian power with which it is constantly at war.

6. Ecclesia peregrinans

The middle stage of the parable depicts the history of Ecclesia, bracketed by the celestial and nuptial scenes at the beginning and the vaguely eschatological scene in the end. This is a rehearsal of the estrangement of the *civitas Dei* from God. In this context, *peregrinatio* has both the static implication of ontological post-lapsarian alienation and the progressive connotations of wayfaring, both of which resonate throughout the account of the city of God in *De civitate Dei*. For a Bernardine illustration of the Church in exile, we might turn to Adv 5, which generates a spectacular tension:

> In the hell of poverty, to say nothing of other disadvantages, the city of God is estranged from God as long as it is in the body (cf. 2 Cor 5.6); nevertheless, she is a holy city, a beautiful city, despite her position in a place of affliction. The bridegroom lauds this beauty of hers in the Song of Songs saying: 'You are beautiful my love, sweet and comely like Jerusalem, terrible as an army lined up for battle.' (Song 6.3). For she is sweet to people, beautiful to God, and terrible to demons.[28]

On the one hand, the Church is here represented as irreparably distanced from God through corporeality. On the other, the intimate relationship with the bridegroom, so abruptly cut off in the parable, is sustained despite the distance. The peregrination of the Church, however, is also an interim position, such as is shown in SC 62:

> […] two things console the Church in the time and place of its pilgrimage: from the past the memory of Christ's passion, and for the future the thought and confidence of being welcomed among the saints. In these glimpses of the past and future she contemplates both events with insatiable longing; each aspect is entirely pleasing to her, each a refuge from the distress of troubles and from sorrow.[29]

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[28] "In inferno igitur paupertatis, ut de aliis omittamus, civitas Dei peregrinatur a Domino, quamdiu est in corpore, civitas utique sancta, civitas pulchra, etsi in loco afflictionis posita. Cuius pulchritudinem, sponsus laudat in Canticis dicens: Pulchra es, amica mea, suavis et decora sicut Ierusalem, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata (Song 6.3). Suavis enim est hominibus, decora numinibus, terribilis daemonibus." Adv var 5; Winkler IX: 80.

[29] "[…] quia Ecclesiam tempore et loco peregrinationis suae duae res consolentur: de praeterito quidem memoria passionis Christi, de futuro autem, quod se in sortem

This passage represents the Church in temporal and spatial suspension between two poles. She is situated in terrestrial alienation while associating herself with the incarnation and the celestial homeland by means of memory and faith respectively. The interim character of the *peregrinatio* is shared by Ecclesia and the individual soul. Both man and Ecclesia may be consoled in their present misery by acknowledging their status as *peregrini*, thus manifesting their association with both the homeland not yet achieved and the lost homeland of Paradise—or, in this case, the lost presence of Christ. But the *peregrinatio* of the Church also implies a wayfaring through time, from one pole towards the other, as Augustine points out:

> In this manner the Church proceeds on its pilgrim way in this world, in these evil days. Its troubled course began not merely in the time of the bodily presence of Christ and the time of his apostles; it started with Abel himself, the first righteous man slain by an ungodly brother; and the pilgrimage goes on from that time right up to the end of history, with the persecutions of the world on one side, and on the other the consolations of God.[30]

In Par IV, each of these themes resounds in some degree. The alienation of the bride from her groom albeit in a radicalized version, the interim character of the Church, and the wayfaring are all present.

This composite theme of *Ecclesia peregrinans* is moreover permeated by the motif of warfare. The inherent element of affliction in the peregrination of *civitas Dei* is also to be found in Augustine, who in this passage, however, is a tad more optimistic as to the ability of the city of God to cope with its tribulations:

> Thus even the Devil, the prince of that irreligious city, when he brings his instruments to bear upon the City of God on pilgrimage in this world, is permitted to do her no harm. Without any doubt, the providence of God provides her with the consolation of prosperity so that she is not shattered by adversity, and with the discipline of adversity so that she is not corrupted by prosperity. And so he tempers the one with the other

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sanctorum cogitat et confidit recipiendam. Ambo haec, veluti ante et retro oculata, insatiabili desiderio contuetur; et uterque illi intuitus admodum gratus, uterque est illi refugium a tribulatione malorum et dolore." SC 62.I.1; Winkler VI: 322. Walsh and Edmonds's translation, III: 150.

[30] "Sic in hoc saeculo, in his diebus malis non solum a tempore corporalis praesentiae Christi et apostolorum eius, sed ab ipso Abel, quem primum iustum impius frater occidit, et deinceps usque in huius saeculi finem inter persecutiones mundi et consolationes Dei peregrinando procurrit ecclesia." *De civitate Dei* XVIII.51; XIV.2: 650. Bettenson's translation, 835.

that we recognize here the source of that saying in the psalm, 'According
to the multitude of the sorrows in my heart, your consolations have
gladdened my soul' (Ps 94.19). Hence also the words of the Apostle,
'Rejoicing in hope, steadfast in tribulation' (Rom 12.12). For we must
not imagine that there can be any time when this saying of the same
teacher fails to be true, 'All who want to live a devout life in Christ suffer
persecution' (2 Tim 3.12).[31]

In the parable, the situation is rather more perturbed. Here the over-
powering belligerent implications of terrestrial life addressed in the first
three parables reappear, yet on a collective note: "Alas! Alas! This life
can no more be free of temptations than the sea can be rid of its waves.
There can be no stable and lasting peace [for Ecclesia] except in her
own country."[32]

In his history of Ecclesia, Bernard merges three themes; that of the
four wounds of the Church and those of the wayfaring and the battle of
Ecclesia peregrinans. The four wounds of the Church represent a sequence
of ages, each with its particular threats to the virtue and cohesion of the
Church. In SC 33.14–16 these are represented as the four wounds on
Christ's—corporeal and ecclesiastical—body: the night of martyrdom,
the heresies in broad daylight, the abuses of the Church, and, still to
come, Antichrist.[33]

The wayfaring of the Church is indicated through pointers to the
path of Ecclesia, and the wandering into which Pharaoh aims to drive
her (*errare eos faciam in invio et non in via*, Par IV.4). Interwoven with
this progressive drive is a thread of martial connotations, retaining the
Church's military camp (*castra*, Par IV.3 and 5) and land (*terra*, Par IV.3),
pointing to the interior civil war that Pharaoh provokes (*bellum civilum et
intestinum*, Par IV.4), and further elaborated through allusions to battle-

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[31] "Ac per hoc diabolus princeps impiae ciuitatis aduersus peregrinantem in hoc
mundo ciuitatem Dei uasa propria commouendo nihil ei nocere permittitur, cui procul
dubio et rebus prosperis consolatio, ut non frangatur aduersis, et rebus aduersis exerci-
tatio, ut non corrumpatur prosperis, per diuinam prouidentiam procuratur, atque ita
temperatur utrumque ab alterutro, ut in psalmo illam uocem non aliunde agnoscamus
exortam: *Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo consolationes tuae iucundauerunt
animam meam*. Hinc est et illud apostoli: *Spe gaudentes, in tribulatione patientes*. Nam et id,
quod ait idem doctor: *Quicumque uolunt in Christo pie uiuere, persecutionem patiuntur*, nullis
putandum est deesse posse temporibus." *De civitate Dei* XVIII.51; XIV.2: 649. Betten-
son's translation, 834.
[32] "Sed heu, heu! nec mare fluctibus, nec vita ista carere potest tentationibus; nec
potest esse pax firma et solida, nisi in regione sua." Par IV.5; Winkler IV: 844. Casey's
translation, 57. Casey's brackets.
[33] See also QH 6.7.

lines (*acies*, Par IV.4) and mutual wounds (*mutuum vulnus*, Par IV.4). In Par IV, we once again meet the *acies ordinata*, Ecclesia's line of battle, here in array and terrible in accordance with Song 6.3 but eventually to lose its impressive appearance as disorder sets in (*non terribilis, quia deordinata*). Ecclesia thus borrows the basic characteristic of Babylon, confusion. The representation of the single combats, as it were, inherent in the schisms recalls the much more elaborate setting of *Psychomachia*. In these fights between individual schismatics and Church Fathers, Ecclesia is prize as well as battlefield.

There is furthermore a recurrent echo of the slyness of the serpent. In this parable, Pharaoh moves by way of stealth rather than with his chariots. First, there is the shrewdness (*calliditas*, Par IV.4) lying behind his instigation of the heresies. Then there is his entry into Ecclesia's fort by night when everyone is drunk and asleep (cf. 1 Thess 5.7), an initiative introduced by Pharaoh as *artes meas* (Par IV.5). This stealthy infiltration of the party of Ecclesia through the spirits of fornication, gluttony, and avarice (*spiritus fornicationis*, *spiritus gulae*, *spiritus avaritiae*, Par IV.5) brings about a complete reversal of sanctities, inclinations, and dispositions. The enemy, however, stands far off, laughing (*hostibus a longe stantibus et ridentibus*, Par IV.4). This in turn leads to the rape of Ecclesia, depicted in shrill contrast to the nuptial embrace of bride and groom in the *cubiculum*. The final scene is the anticipation of the fourth stage, the coming of Satan, transfigured into an angel of light, pretending to be God. Ecclesia is urged, as *sponsa Christi*, not to let herself be deceived but wait for the bridegroom.

Unlike both its own optimistic beginning and the other parables, Par IV ends on a more than sombre note, as Bernard, on behalf of Ecclesia and her faithful adherents, calls on God to come to the aid of his bride. This parable, with Par VI, thus questions somewhat Leclercq's claim for the parables that "These little romances always end in a happy marriage".[34] The distress is emphasized by the *Spiegelung* on the perspective of the first scene, the viewpoint now facing the heavenly region and rooted in terrestrial misery. But whereas in the first scene both heaven and earth were in view, in the here-and-now of this parable, the heavenly region is out of sight.

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[34] Leclercq 1979, 102.

7. *Topographical plot*

Rather than considering the spiritual topography from outside, which has been the point of view of the three previous parables, this one presents the topography from within by means of three different vistas. Considered from a temporal point of view, the first two vistas have a quasi-etiological character. Thus, with both his introductory glimpse of father and son, and the scene in the *cubiculum*, Bernard represents the soteriological preconditions for the present situation. However, according to the *pars pro toto* character of the topography, these loci are still to some extent present. Bernard enters a first phase of salvation history. He regards the relation between heaven and Egypt from the heavenly point of view and presents a section of the map of soteriological topography. The *cubiculum* is depicted from outside in a single, distinct, and completely focused view, with no other topoi included. This is the one instance in which the bride needs no outlook to any other topos; when, for a moment, the goal comes to the *viator*.

An almost similarly detached point of view is used in the mapping of the present age and the turmoil of Ecclesia. But whereas the detachment of the *cubiculum* marks the absorbing ecstasy that drives out everything else, the detachment of the scenes of peregrination shows the isolated misery of Ecclesia whose groom seems absent, even though in his final invocation Bernard strives to actualize the eternity of God.

However, the spiritual topography works within a structure no topos of which disappears, but rather lingers on in a tense structure of contrast and identity. Therefore, the celestial home of father and son is still present. Bernard's map represents both the immediate surroundings, the harassment of Ecclesia, and the more distant regions of the *cubiculum* and the celestial home, presently out of sight. So, even if this last section of the mapping records a glut of sorrow and a dearth of hope, the first section gave us Christ noticing the despair of his bride-to-be. This first section may no longer be in focus, but it has not been cut off from the map upon which Ecclesia still moves and proceeds.

In short, this parable depicts the wayfaring of Ecclesia within a soteriological topography which positions the Church in a typological landscape of biblical figures and historical characters: but always with Christ as its alpha and omega.

PARABOLA V, DE TRIBUS FILIABUS REGIS

I. *Summary*

1. "A noble and powerful king had three daughters: Faith, Hope and Charity. To them he assigned a distinguished city: the human soul."[1] There were three citadels in that city, reasonableness (*rationabilitas*), desire (*concupiscibilitas*), and irascibility (*irascibilitas*). Each of the daughters was given her opposite; Faith received reasonableness because faith offers no merit that will convince human reason. Hope received desire because we should not desire what we see but what we hope for. Love got irascibility in order that the power of virtues may dominate the power of nature. The daughters now entered the citadels, and each of them attended to her house as best she could. Each of the daughters had a number of assistants to help her take care of her house: In Faith's house, Prudence, Dispensation, Obedience, Patience, and Order entered, with Discipline guarding the gate.

2. With Hope, Sobriety was left in charge with Discretion, Continence, Constancy, and Humility as helpers and with Silence at the gate.

3. Charity's house was positioned towards south and noon; she committed it to her friend Kindness and gave her as assistants Purity of body, suitable Exercises, that is readings, meditations, prayers, and spiritual affection. And in order that Misery should not disturb the children of God playing and rejoicing in the house of Charity, she placed Peace at the gate. Finally the Free Will was put in charge of the entire city.

4. The daughters returned to their father's house. An enemy appeared. He saw the order and glory of the city and became envious. As he wanted to enter the city, he corrupted two of its leading citizens, Discretion and Dispensation—and led his whole army through the gates of reasonableness and desire. And Free Will who had been designated as custodian of the city was chained and incarcerated. Once Discipline was no longer there, chaos broke out: *contradictiones, commotiones et confusiones*.

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[1] "Rex nobilis et potens tres habuit filias, Fidem, Spem, Caritatem. His delegavit civitatem eximiam, humanam animam." Par V.1; Winkler IV: 848. Casey's translation, 63.

5. In the house of Hope, Lust took over. Sobriety and her fellow virtues he incarcerated or sent into exile (*incarceravit, aut in exsilium destinavit*). Then they went to the upper citadel of the city. When Peace had been killed, Misery entered. Now anybody who so wished could enter the sanctuary of the Lord, and everything that was in it was profaned, looted, and carried off to Babylon. The vessels of the Temple were even used to serve wine for the king of Babylon and his concubines. In this way, the entire city was captured and turned over, "Her dishonor now grew as great as her glory".[2]

6. The daughters now threw themselves at the feet of their father begging for help. They blamed Free Will, asking: "What can Free Will do without the help of Grace?"[3] And the father sent out Fear who came to the city and found the gate of difficulties closed and bolted with the bars of bad habit. But Fear broke through the gates and killed the gatekeeper Sexual Excess (*Lascivia*) with the rod of discipline. He raised the sign of grace on the gates, the city was seized by Fear, and as Grace entered with the army of the heavenly hosts, the enemy disappeared.

The houses were now set up for the daughters and suitable meals prepared. At Faith's table was served the bread of sorrow,[4] the water of distress,[5] and other dishes of penitence. At that of Hope, it was strengthening bread, oils that make the face shine, and other dishes of consolation. At Love's they had the bread of life, the wine of joy, and all the delights of Paradise.[6] The daughters could then return and guard their city. But "Unless the Lord guards the city, the guards keep watch in vain."[7]

II. *Discussion*

Par V betrays much of the *similitudo*. The substance is reined in tight analogies, and there is not much room for surplus of meaning. The parable is first and foremost a narration about the anatomy of the corpus of virtues and vices; a topic which lies outside the purview of

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[2] NRSV, 1 Macc 1.40; Vulgate (1 Macc 1.42): "secundum gloriam eius multiplicata est ignominia eius". In Bernard's wording *facta* is substituted for *multiplicata*.

[3] "Quid […] Liberum Arbitrium potest sine adiutrice gratia?" Par V.6; Winkler IV: 852–854. Casey's translation, 66.

[4] "panis doloris", cf. Ps 126.2.

[5] "aqua angustiae", cf. III Rg 22.27 (NRSV: 1 Kings 22.27).

[6] The list of dishes in the last two houses: "panis confortans, et oleum exhilarans faciem, et cetera consolationis fercula. […] panis vitae et vinum laetificans, et omnes deliciae paradisi" (Par V.6; Winkler IV: 854) elaborates Ps 103.15: "et vinum laetificat cor hominis ut exhilaret faciem in oleo et panis cor hominis confirmat".

[7] Ps 126.1, Bernard's rendering: "Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam." differs slightly from that of Vulgate.

this study. In this discussion we shall focus partly on the structure on which this anatomy hinges: the *civitas* of the human soul and the *arces* and *domus* within it, partly on the other topographical allusions of the parable.

1. *The* civitas *of the human soul*

In Par V, the master metaphor of the house is the vehicle for the exhibition of virtues and vices. The hierarchical relations between the *civitas* and its three *arces* are employed in laying out the organization of the soul's three main virtues, *fides*, *spes*, and *caritas* (1 Cor 13) situated above *liberum arbitrium*, which in turn administers a subordinate range of virtues. Without the grace of God conveyed through faith, hope, and charity, however, free will can do little against the impending vices.

On the one hand, this *civitas* is a complex of edifices however sketchily drawn. It holds three buildings which are called both citadels (*arces*) and houses (*domus*). These structures have gates (*porta*) which in turn have bars (*vectes*). This layer of urban vocabulary applies to the motif of fortification, and the parable shows much concern with the importance of guards. First, gatekeepers are carefully secured for each of the three houses; when, second, the gatekeepers have been disposed of one by one, desolation floods in. On the other hand, the *civitas* is a household governed and provided for by the daughters (*ordino* and *procuro*). As good managers, they delegate the keeping of the doors, and everything is arranged in splendid order (Par V.4). Finally, a certain sense of civic community is implied in the concluding banquet.

2. *Nebuchadnezzar and Antiochus*

Two biblical wars reverberate in this text. On the one hand, the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem which we have already met in Par II and III. This war is recalled through explicit references to the sacral booty carried off to Babylon (2 Kings 25.13–17)[8] and the Babylonian king's being served from the holy vessels. The latter is an allusion to Dan 5.2–4, where Nebuchadnezzar's son King Belshazzar "under the influence of wine" commanded that the vessels taken from the Temple of Jerusalem by his father be brought so that he, his lords, his wives, and

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[8] Vulgate: 4 Rg 25.13–17.

concubines might drink from them. And while drinking they praised their own idolatrous gods made of all sorts of material, carefully listed in the biblical text. It is at this moment that "the fingers of a human hand appeared and began writing on the plaster of the wall of the royal palace, next to the lampstand."[9] In Daniel, the king's drinking is charged with the utmost drama, underscoring the inherent blasphemy of desecrating the holy vessels.

In the parable, the biblical phrase which concludes this scenario recalls, however, quite another war: that of the Maccabees against Antiochus. 1 Macc 1.20–50 tells in lurid detail how the King first plunders the Temple of Jerusalem, later to return and capture the city. He takes over the city of David and makes it his citadel; he sends letters instructing the towns of Judah "to follow customs strange to the land" (1 Macc 1.44, NRSV). Among other things he forbids burnt offerings, profanes Sabbaths and festivals, and defiles sanctuaries and priests. In short, the tones resonating from each of these Old Testament contexts are partly those of war and siege, partly those of sacrilege and the overthrow of religious cult; although Bernard would not use those terms. With these allusions, the schematic outline of the city and its citadels is momentarily smudged; and it may be suggested that the enemy brings not only carnal chaos but also a touch of narrative license to the story.

3. *Topographical plot*

In this parable, the topographical impetus is to a great extent of an auxiliary nature. The city offers structure to the presentation of the virtues, and the Babylonian allusions offer biblical horror to their dissolution. One of the main functions of the parable in our context is perhaps that it serves as a negative foil for the key characteristics of the other parables: partly their parabolic pliability, partly the ways in which the topographical features have active parts to play in their narrative outlines.

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[9] Dan 5.5.

PARABOLA VI, DE AETHIOPISSA
QUAM FILIUS REGIS DUXIT UXOREM

I. *Summary*

Prologue

There are four temptations which are found in the Church and in the soul of each believer. They are: adversity, prosperity, hypocrisy, and seduction by the enemy. As a remedy for these temptations, there are four kinds of vigilance: strength against bad luck, temperance against luck, justice against hypocrisy, and prudence against Satan. The parallel trials of the Church are those of the anxiety of the martyrs, the evil of heresy, the contemporary hypocrisy, and the attack by Antichrist.

Thence there are four horses in the Apocalypse. The first one is white and calm; its rider signifies preaching, and he shoots the arrows of the effectual words of the Holy Spirit. The second is blood red; its rider sheds the blood of martyrs with his sword. The third is black, he is hypocrisy. The fourth horse is pale and close to death; its rider is death and inferno follows him. The parable presents these four ages of the Church more clearly.

Parable

"The son of the king of the heavenly Jerusalem went abroad so that he might inspect the lower realms of his Father."[1] When he had seen everything, he returned and said to his father: "It is now time for me to look ahead to the future. I must marry, beget children, and set up my own household.[2] I have seen a bride whom I would like to have in the house of the king of Babylon, where she is held captive dressed in dirty

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[1] "Filius regis supercaelestis Ierusalem egressus est ut contemplaretur regna Patris sui inferiora." Par VI; Winkler IV: 860. Casey's translation, 73. This parable has no paragraph numbers.

[2] "Sed iam tempus est, ut in futurum mihi prospiciam, uxorem ducam, filios procreem, familiam per me regam." Par VI; Winkler IV: 860. Casey's translation, 73.

clothes so that her value is not recognized." The father said: "Do not do it, my only son. This Ethiopian woman (*Aethiopissa*) is not worthy of your descent and status." But the son wanted only her, and so the father said: "As you are co-eternal, consubstantial, and co-omnipotent with me,[3] you may go and release her from her Babylonian captivity and take her as your wife."

Gabriel, who was chosen to lead the bride, offered to steal her away from her captivity by force, but the king's son wanted it to be done secretly. Gabriel was detailed to bring the word to the Virgin Mary: "In her bedroom is my wedding to be begun and celebrated." So Gabriel went to the Virgin, but he who sent him with the message had already come to her, and the holy wedding banquet was celebrated.

But the groom did not come with empty hands.[4] First he gave her a fur coat made from lamb and a cloak of wool from sheep. The fur, obtained through the pain of the lamb, was acquired through ascetic practice reaching its climax in the passion on the cross by which the bride was taught mortification of the flesh. The cloak signifies humility. This was in the winter. At the time of Easter he gave his bride an Armenian fur coat: the holy preachers. It was white because they preach the resurrection of Christ and the hope of the future resurrection of the bride, and red owing to their preaching of the passion of Christ which must be felt in the heart and testified in deeds. At Easter he also gave his bride a pair of shoes signifying the two Testaments, so that she should not touch the earth. However, if these shoes are not tied with monastic vocation and obedience, they slip off the feet.

He also gave her a pair of gloves: the active and the contemplative life. The right hand signifies the active life and its fingers are the characteristics of good action which must be upright, voluntary, pure, discerning, and firm.[5] The five fingers of the glove of contemplation signify the stages of contemplation, that is: contemplation of sin and hell, the contempt of present things and the hope of things to come, the judgement and the kingdom, the state of the body after the resurrection and glorification, and finally the human spirit and eternity. These five things must be regarded through five windows. Christ is a window: on the one hand, his humanity is like a wall; on the other hand, divinity shines through his humanity. Christ offers five windows through which the themes of contemplation are regarded. Thus, sin and hell were revealed through the incarnation of Christ, contempt and hope respectively are shown through the window of his life, the judgement and the kingdom are dis-

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[3] "[…] tu coaeternus et consubstantialis, et coomnipotens mihi […]" Par VI, Winkler IV: 860.

[4] The elaboration of the gifts of the groom is here considerably truncated.

[5] Bernard stresses that normally, the right hand signifies contemplation—but here it is stretched out for activity.

played in his teachings, and finally the state and glorification of the body is to be considered through his resurrection. And his ascension shows, if only in passing, how our spirit is to be united with God.

When Christ ascended, he left his bride with the apostles and he ordered them to stay in Jerusalem. At Pentecost he sent them the great and strong army of the Holy Spirit. And the apostles gave the bride a mule when a whole people of Jews and Pagans converted to the faith, so that she might progress with greater speed and dignity on an animal of mixed descent. And she received the spurs of love with which she can make them move forwards and a whip that is fear, with which she can urge them from behind. As the Church multiplied, the apostles committed her to the government of the martyrs. And as it was summer and only little clothes was needed, the martyrs made the mule a red cover. When the martyrs died, the holy doctors and magnificent confessors came to follow them, Ambrose, Hilary, Augustine, and others. But the Devil saw that he did not succeed waging overt war against the Church, and so he resorted to stealth. And he educated Arius, Pelagius, and others in his arts. These led the bride far astray.[6] But the holy doctors led her back onto the way of truth and made her a cloak of samite; that is their chaste and upright lives.

And the Church proceeds (*gradior*) with a great company. But once again the serpent tries to plunder her, and as he cannot do this while she is on the road, he sets his traps beside the way (*et cum in via non possit, iuxta viam laqueos parat*). He pitches his tents with gold, silver, and ornamented clothing and with food, wine, and young girls dancing. He who is wise, walks with the Church as she follows the straight way; he who is foolish and fey, however, frequents the taverns of the Devil, and he does not return to the bride. And today many people desert her in this way. And he who prefers silver and gold, honeyed wine, and women to Christ lingers in the tents of the Devil. But in doing so he robs the bride of her ornament and leaves her with no other garments than a few monks and regular canons—of other kinds of people almost none.

II. *Discussion*

In Par VI, Bernard has left the rather simple structures of the previous narratives as well as the simple figurative outline for a much more intricate allegorical scope. The parable does not meet with much mercy from Casey:

In some ways the parable does not reflect Bernard's usual verve: many of the allegorical interpretations are prolix and pedestrian, the narrative

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[6] "longe in devium ducunt" Par VI; Winkler IV: 872.

lacks logical symbolic and dramatic unity and the imagery itself is complicated and sometimes artificial.[7]

—in the book-version more pithily: "Maybe St Bernard was not brilliant every day".[8]

It is true that this parable heaps up more allegorical constructions than the others. Considered from a topographical viewpoint, however, it exhibits some significant structures. In our discussion, we move directly to these structures. This entails disregarding the other key metaphorical themes of the parable. On the one hand that of clothing: from the rags of the slave disguising the bride in the first scene via the costly garments presented to her by her spouse and later the doctors, to the scanty patches left to her after the diabolical attacks. On the other hand, the less strongly voiced aspect of the liturgico-historical seasons. First of all, attention is here directed to the spatial implications of incarnation and the overall narrative frame in which progression through time is reflected also as progression in space.

1. *Setting*

Par VI resembles Par IV in that it treats the four wounds of the Church. Par IV unfolds along a predominantly horizontal axis: the marriage implies that the bride comes to the *cubiculum* of the groom, who in turn leaves for a distant land rather than ascending to heaven. Par VI, however, is structured around the vertical movements of the king's son. First he inspects the lower realms of his father and then returns to court, then he overtakes Gabriel as he goes down (*descendo*) to Mary, and eventually he ascends, leaving his bride in Jerusalem.

The parable is set in four stages. The first one implies a move between the heavenly Jerusalem and Babylon. The second is the nuptial donation of symbolic and allegorical gifts. The third is set in Jerusalem and describes the four tribulations of the Church. The fourth and last stage describes contemporary everyday activity of the Devil. At the beginning, the parable is persistent in designating the king's son as such, although references to his consubstantiality and co-eternity, to Gabriel, and to Mary almost rob the allegory of its analogical character. In the elaboration of the gifts of the groom, however, explicit references are

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[7] Casey 1986, 96.
[8] Casey 2000, 69.

made to Christ. And all in all, parable VI supplements its presentation of *Ecclesia peregrinans* with a comprehensive Christology.

The parable begins with another domestic conversation between the king and his son regarding the captured bride-to-be. Also in this parable is the selected bride held captive; not in Egypt but in Babylon, and not in slavery but in prison. This strikes the note of latent contrast between the connotations of these two main loci of sin. The son's announcement "I have seen a bride whom I would like to have in the house of the king of Babylon"[9] is a reversal of the point of view of the homilies *In laudibus virginis matris* crystallized in the statement that Mary "drew the gaze of the celestial citizen towards her".[10] Once again, the parable is launched from a celestial point of view. In the course of the parable, the issue of point of view takes on new dimensions, and the initiating gaze of the son towards the bride is replaced by in turn by the exhortation to look towards the five contemplative themes through a Christological lens, and by the inspection and indeed introspection which scrutinizes different contemporary stances with regard to diabolic temptation.

2. *The* Aethiopissa

The designation of the chosen bride as *Aethiopissa* is a signature encompassing several clusters of connotations. The principal implications derive from a combination of Numbers 12.1[11] and Song 1.5.[12] The *Aethiopissa*, black and beautiful, generally denotes the double state of sin and redemption. In the words of Cesarius of Arles:

> When Moses had grown up, he went off into a distant region and took an Ethiopian wife. Acknowledge, brothers, that this is no lesser mystery. This Ethiopian whom the blessed Moses took as his wife came from the pagans, because also Christ would gather his Church from the pagans. Moses left his people and married an Ethiopian woman in a distant region, and Christ left the people of the Jews to gather the Church from

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[9] "Sponsam, quae mihi habenda complacuit, in domo regis Babylonici vidi […]" Par VI; Winkler IV: 860. Casey's translation, 73–74.

[10] "[…] caeli civium in se provocavit aspectus […]" Miss 2.2; Winkler IV: 50.

[11] NRSV: "Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Cushite woman whom he had married"; Vulgate: "locutaque est Maria et Aaron contra Mosen propter uxorem eius aethiopissam".

[12] NRSV: "I am black and beautiful, O daughters of Jerusalem, like the tents of Kedar, like the curtains of Solomon"; Vulgate (Song 1.4): "nigra sum sed formonsa filiae Hierusalem sicut tabernacula Cedar sicut pelles Salomonis".

the most distant regions [...] The Church says: I am black and beautiful. What does that mean, I am black and beautiful? Black through nature, beautiful through grace; black because of original sin, beautiful because of the sacrament of baptism.[13]

In Bernard, this theme is resumed with the particular flavour of the sermons on the Song:

Recall the story of Moses and the Ethiopian woman and see that even then there was a foreshadowing of the union between the Word and the sinner. Try to identify too if you can, what you savor most in pondering on this sweetest of mysteries: the most benign gesture of the Word, or the unfathomable glory of the soul, or the unpredictable confidence of the sinner. Moses could not change the color of his Ethiopian wife, but Christ could.[14]

Thus the bride, black and beautiful, embodies the double condition of man:

How lowly! Yet how sublime! At the same time tent of Kedar and sanctuary of God; an earthly tent and a heavenly palace; a mud hut and a royal apartment; a body doomed to death and a temple bright with light; an object of contempt to the proud, yet the bride of Christ. She is black but beautiful, daughters of Jerusalem: for though the hardship and sorrow of prolonged exile darkens her complexion, a heavenly loveliness shines through it, the curtains of Solomon enhance it.[15]

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[13] "Postquam autem crevit Moyses, abiit in regionem longinquam, et accepit Aethiopissam uxorem. Agnoscite, fratres, hoc non parvum esse mysterium. Aethiopissa illa ex gentibus erat, quam beatus Moyses duxit uxorem, quia et Christus ex gentibus sibi sociaturus erat ecclesiam. Moyses derelinquit populum suum, et in longinquis regionibus Aethiopissae coniungitur: et Christus derelicto populo Iudaeorum de extremis regionibus ecclesiae sociatur [...] Ait ecclesia: NIGRA SUM ET FORMONSA (Song 1.4). Quid est, Nigra sum et formonsa? Nigra per naturam, formonsa per gratiam; nigra originali peccato, formonsa baptismi sacramento." Cesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 95.2, 390.

[14] "Recordare nunc mihi Moysi et Aethiopissae, et agnosce iam tunc praefiguratum coniugium Verbi et animae peccatricis; et discerne, si potes, quid tibi dulcius sapiat in consideratione suavissimi sacramenti, Verbine nimium benigna dignatio, an animae inaestimabilis gloria, an inopinata fiducia peccatoris. Sed non potuit Moyses Aethiopissae mutare pellem, potuit Christus." SC 39.IV.10; Winkler VI: 60–62. Walsh's translation, II: 198.

[15] "O humilitas! o sublimitas! Et tabernaculum Cedar, et sanctuarium Dei; et terrenum habitaculum, et caeleste palatium; et domus lutea, et aula regia; et corpus mortis, et templum lucis; et despectio denique superbis, et sponsa Christi. Nigra est, sed formosa, filiae Ierusalem: quam etsi labor et dolor longi exsilii decolorat, species tamen caelestis exornat, exornant pelles Salomonis." SC 27.VII.14; Winkler V: 430. Walsh's translation, II: 86.

The Bernardine version of the black-but-beautiful theme is related to the contrast between *peregrinus* and *civis* and the anthropological tension between human dignity rooted in creation, and re-created as potential through incarnation, and the indignity caused by the Fall. The Ethiopian woman is considered alienated both with regard to origin and hue, but by the wedding with Moses, the Christological anti-typos, she is purged of her alienation.

The introduction of the *Aethiopissa* draws two different topographical contexts into the parable. First, as the bride of Moses, this figure hints at Exodus; second, as the bride of the Song, this figure brings with her the locus of the *thalamus* and its surroundings, primarily the pastures into which the groom departs. The latter theme lies at the core of the parable in a version inlaid with allusions to Christ's human life.

3. *The* thalamus *of Mary*

In Par VI the release of the bride does not occur in the place of captivity itself but in the chamber of Mary, and the parable thus offers a rudimentary freezing, as it were, of the mariological elaborations of the homilies *In laudibus virginis matris*. This incident fuses the *thalamus* of Mary as the locale of the annunciation with that of the groom as the locale of the nuptial meeting of Christ and his bride—whether Church or soul—amalgamating incarnation and embrace.

What is here presented as a narrative matter of fact is rendered in more allegorical vein in Sent III.87, which says of Christ: "It was he who prepared the Virgin Mary for himself, so that he might reside in her womb, just as the spouse does in the marriage-bed, Solomon in his temple, a king on his throne, and God in heaven."[16] The parable dissolves the *tamquam* of the *sententia* representing a king's son who is at once Christ in the Virgin's womb and the bridegroom in his nuptial chamber. Thus the appearance of the king's son in the *thalamus* of the parable points at once to the first Coming enacted in the incarnation and to the partial Coming between incarnation and *parousia* in which Christ comes as a groom to the bride who experiences her half-hour of spiritual rapture. In our context, it is significant, that this double Coming is literally taking place; it is pin-pointed topographically in

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[16] "Qui praeparavit sibi virginem Mariam ut esset in utero eius tamquam sponsus in thalamo, Salomon in templo, rex in solio, Deus in caelo." Sent III.87; Winkler IV: 508. Swietek's translation, 274–275.

the *thalamus* of the Virgin Mary. In this composite construction, the Virgin is to some extent regarded as a figure standing between Christ and the Church, as Bernard states elsewhere.[17] But in the parable, Mary's role as *mediatrix* is not primarily associated with the grace of Christ. Hers is a role of narrative mediation; she is one figuration of the female protagonist of the parable who is at once *Aethiopissa*, Maria, and *Ecclesia*.

4. *Christological topographies*

The second stage of Par VI is dedicated to incarnation and its contemplative fruits. First, the parable lists the phases of incarnation in the course of the narrative of the king's son and his bride. Second, it introduces the five vistas of the contemplative glove. In this chapter we shall focus on the parable's representation of incarnation, and Bernardine treatment of what may be termed Christological topography more generally.

   Par VI touches upon Christ's conception, life, teachings, passion, and ascension. But it saunters rather independently compared to the gospels. The independence shows not least with regard to the topographical indications. Here, incarnation is not located in Bethlehem, Bethany, and Golgotha; and it is only indirectly associated with Jerusalem. It is not even situated in more stylized locales such as crib, mountain (or other preceptorial landscapes), and cross. The topography in which the king's son manoeuvres is a conglomerate of biblical places in recontextualization: Babylon is transferred from its Old Testament contexts to the prologue of John, as it were: the situation in Babylon is what elicits that the Word is made flesh or, in the vocabulary of the parable, that the king's son comes to his bride. In the same way, the parable's reference to a *thalamus* which draws on the *cubiculum* of Song 3.4 and the *cellaria / cubiculum*[18] of the king in Song 1.3 occurs in the context of the annunciation of Lk 1.26–31. Notably, the passion is not located or narratively fleshed out, but instead is represented through the allegorical winter-wardrobe: pelisse and cape made of wool and the skin of the lamb.

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[17] "[…] Maria inter Christum et Ecclesiam constituta." O Asspt 5; Winkler VIII: 600.
   [18] *Cellaria* is the word employed in Vulgate, the *cubiculum* of the king mainly enters the tradition via Origen.

Christ incarnate is associated with soteriological topography. Bernard may fashion his representation of Christ as a topos to which other topoi relate by way of contrast or identity. This is illustrated by the designation of Christ as "our Paradise" (Nat 1.6) which links Christ and the incarnation to Paradise, the monastic *paradisus claustralis*, and *paradisus caelestis* at the same time dissociating the 'topos of Christ' from Babylon, Egypt, and other demonic topoi.[19]

But the incarnation also implies a distinct topography of its own. This topographical structure is explicit in the gospels themselves.[20] But as Bernard reflects them, the locations of the gospels have been stylized in a complex interaction between *Lokal* and *Raum*. We have already come across such stylization in elaborations of the *Intravit* sermons on the *castellum* of Mary and Martha, but there are many nuances in the Bernardine exposition of the incarnational locales. The topography of incarnation is extended between the birth in Bethlehem or in the stable and the loci of passion and resurrection, that is cross, tomb, Emmaus and, eventually, a mountain in Galilee (Mk 28.16) or Bethany (Lk 24.50) as the locales of Ascension. To Bernard, the incarnational topography is called upon in the revivification of the carnal nature of Christ in contemplation and liturgy. This is a point most illustratively made in Bernard's liturgical sermons, in which he recurrently ponders the time and space of incarnation.

In his sixth sermon *In vigilia nativitatis*, Bernard mulls over the location of Christ's birth, urging his audience to consider this place in depth:

> Thus he was born. But where, do you think? In Bethlehem of Judea. It is not right for us to pass Bethlehem thus. 'Let us now go to Bethlehem,' the shepherds say, not, 'Let us pass by Bethlehem'. What does it mean that it is a poor hamlet? What if it seems to be the smallest in Judea? Not even that is incongruous with him who although rich has been made poor for us and although the great and exceedingly honourable Lord has been born as a small child for us; and he said […] 'If you do not convert and become like this child, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 18.3). Therefore he also chose a stable and a crib, a house of mud, and a shelter of beasts of burden, so that you may know that he is the one who raises the poor from the muck and heals men and beasts.[21]

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[19] See further the discussion of Par VII.

[20] The epitome being the travel-narrative of Lk 9.51–19.48 which is launched by Jesus' setting his face to go to Jerusalem and concluded by his driving out the merchants at the temple.

[21] "Sic ergo nascitur. Sed ubi putas? IN BETHLEHEM IUDAE. Neque enim decet nos

This passage starts on a horizontal plan focusing on the landscapes and buildings of the birth. But, unsurprisingly, incarnational topography hinges just as much on the vertical aspect of ascent and descent.

In the liturgical sermons, the actualization or re-living of incarnation is highlighted through Bernard's employment of the liturgical feature of *hodie*, today.[22] This, however, may at times be supplemented by a *hic*, insofar as the liturgical actualization also implies a negotiation of the spatial implications of incarnation and sets up points of convergence between monastic space and incarnational space. This is for instance the case in Bernard's sequence of sermons on the nativity which rehearses the clash between celestial and terrestrial spatiality from different angles. In their literary redaction, the nativity sermons develop from the account of the condensation of celestiality into terrestrial standards in the first sermon, towards the divine dilation of terrestrial measures of time and space in the fourth.

First the abbreviation:

> Great, dearly beloved, is today's feast for the birth of the Lord: nevertheless, the brief day compels us to abbreviate our words. But it is no wonder if we should keep our words short as also God the Father spoke an abbreviated word. Do you want to know how long and how brief he made it? 'I fill,' this word says, 'heaven and earth' (Jer 23.24); but now it has been made flesh and is positioned in a narrow crib. 'From eternity,' the prophet says, 'to eternity you are God' (Ps 89.2): and behold, he is now a child only one day old.[23]

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ita Bethlehem praeterire. Transeamus usque Bethlehem (Lk 2.15), dicunt pastores, non Bethlehem pertranseamus. Quid enim si pauper viculus est? Quid si videtur minima in Iudaea? Ne id quidem incongruum ei, qui cum dives esset, propter nos pauper factus est, et cum esset magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis, parvulus natus est nobis, et dicebat: [...] Nisi conversi fueritis et efficiamini sicut puer iste, non intrabitis in regnum caelorum (Mt 18.3). Unde etiam stabulum eligit et praesepe, utique domum luteam, et diversoria iumentorum, ut hunc esse scias, qui de stercore erigit pauperem et salvos facit homines et iumenta." (with reference to Ps 112.7 and 35.7) V Nat 6.7; Winkler VII: 214.

[22] For instance Asc 2.1: "Indeed, he who descended is also the one who ascends on the day of today above all heaven [...]" ("Qui enim descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit hodierna die super omnes caelos (Eph 4.10) [...]" Winkler VIII: 322. It is noteworthy that the reference to Eph 4.10 has been elaborated specifically with the addition of the point of time, "hodierna die", see also e.g. Asspt 1.1 and Asc 3.1. Bernard touches a little more systematically upon this issue in V Nat 6.3, stating how on the one hand Christ was born in time but that, still, the Church preaches that "Christ, the son of God, is (being) born" ("Christus, filius Dei, nascitur") Winkler VII: 208.

[23] "Grandis quidem est, dilectissimi, hodierna Dominicae Nativitatis sollemnitas; sed dies brevis cogit breviare sermonem. Nec mirum, si facimus nos breve verbum, quando et Deus Pater Verbum fecit abbreviatum. Vultis nosse quam longum, quam breve fecit?

This passage is followed by an exhortation to humility in imitation of the humble truncation of the divine majesty. The interest in our context, however, rests with the spatial implications of the Procrustean manoeuvre of adjusting the eternal and infinite God into a fleshly and tangible baby who fits terrestrial measures: as short as a crib and one day old. These standards also pertain to the liturgical celebration, and the brevity of the sermon actualizes the abbreviation implied in incarnation.

In the fourth sermon, the theme of *verbum abbreviatum* is addressed once more. But this time, it is not a question of celestial measures succumbing to terrestrial ones but of the celestial majesty bursting earthly limits:

> Acknowledge, my dearest brothers, how great the feast of today is: the day is too short for it, and the extent of the earth too narrow. It is extended in space as well as in time. It occupies the night and fills heaven before it reaches the earth. For the night is as light as the day, as when in the dead of night the new light from heaven bathed the shepherds in its glow.[24]

Introducing his sermon, Bernard urges his monks to disregard their sense of time and space: in their liturgical reiteration of nativity, the given temporal and spatial boundaries of the terrestrial and indeed monastic world burst.

Another kind of monastic reverberation of a spatial register related to incarnation appears in Bernard's exposition of the Palm Sunday procession. Here, the passion of Christ, the liturgical procession of the monks, and their progression towards the celestial homeland all converge:

> In procession, we certainly exhibit the glory of the heavenly homeland, in the Passion we show the way […] If, I say, you considered in the procession, whither it was hastening, then learn in the Passion the manner of going. Because that is by the way of life, the present tribulation; the

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CAELUM, inquit hoc Verbum, ET TERRAM EGO IMPLEO (Jer 23.24); nunc caro factum, in angusto locatum praesepio est. A SAECULO, ait Propheta, ET IN SAECULUM TU ES DEUS (Ps 89.2 quoted from *Domine refugium*): et ecce factus est infans diei unius." Nat 1.1; Winkler VII: 224. The *verbum abbreviatum* relates to Vulgate's rendering of Rom 9.28: "quia verbum breviatum faciet Dominus super terram".

24 "Agnoscite, fratres dilectissimi, quanta sit hodierna sollemnitas, cui et dies brevis, et terrae angusta est latitudo. Loco pariter et tempore dilatatur. Noctem praeoccupat, caelum replet antequam terram. Nox enim ut dies illuminata est, cum intempestae noctis hora pastores circumfulsit lux nova de caelo." Nat 4.1; Winkler VII: 262.

way to glory, the way to the city where we are to live, the way to the kingdom, for which the robber cries out from the cross: 'Remember me, Lord, when you come into your kingdom' (cf. Lk 23.42).[25]

In the link between procession and liturgical re-living of the passion, the monks enact a representative movement. Their circumambulation of the cloister reflects the trajectory of Christ. But the procession furthermore has a typological quality—or figural in Auerbach's sense.[26] The monks in their procession are like the robber crying out to be remembered. And they are indeed allowed to follow Christ all the way with the concluding mass anticipating, if only momentarily, celestial glory.[27]

Like the feast of the nativity, that of Ascension calls for particular attention to the question of space and the crossing of boundaries. The second sermon for that feast begins on a conclusive note:

> This feast, dearest, is glorious and, in a manner of speaking, joyous. Here the singular glory rendered to Christ is celebrated and a special joy is allowed us. It is the consummation and accomplishment of the other feasts and the happy conclusion of the whole journey of the Son of God.[28]

The remainder of the sermon, however, is spent modifying the conclusive cadence of this homiletic opening. First Bernard calls to mind the pain of the apostles left behind: "Wherever he went on earth, they followed him inseparably; even the sea they entered with him, as Peter

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[25] "[…] in processione quidem caelestis patriae repraesentamus gloriam, in passione monstramus viam […] si, inquam, considerasti in processione quo properandum sit, disce in passione qua sit eundum. Haec est enim via vitae, tribulatio praesens; via gloriae, via civitatis habitaculi, via regni, secundum quod clamat latro de cruce: MEMENTO MEI, DOMINE, DUM VENERIS IN REGNUM TUUM (cf. Lk 23.42 according to the antiphon *Memento mei*)." Palm 1.2; Winkler VIII: 156–158.

[26] "Figural interpretation establishes a connection between two events or persons, the first of which signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second encompasses or fulfils the first. The two poles of the figure are separate in time, but both, being real events or figures, are within time, within the stream of historical life […] Of course purely spiritual elements enter into the conceptions of the ultimate fulfilment, since 'my kingdom is not of this world'; yet it will be a real kingdom, not an immaterial abstraction." Auerbach 1959, 53.

[27] For a discussion of Bernard's oscillations between heaven and earth in this sermon, see Bruun 2004.

[28] "Sollemnitas ista, carissimi, gloriosa est et, ut ita dicam, gaudiosa, in qua et singularis Christo gloria, et nobis specialis laetitia exhibetur. Consummatio enim et adimpletio est reliquarum sollemnitatum, et felix clausula totius itinerarii Filii Dei." Asc 2.1; Winkler VIII: 322.

once did, albeit at the risk of sinking, but on this [way] they could not follow him […]".[29] After this lamentation for the apostles cut off from their divine companion, Bernard reveals his centre of gravity: what have I indeed to do with this feast?[30] And the sermon now turns to a spectrum of ascents and descents of monks and Christ respectively. Christ will come back in his *parousia*, but as he ascended, not as he previously descended (*sed quomodo ascendit, non quomodo ante descendit*),[31] that is in glory. And the monks are, after all, not left entirely unable to follow Christ on his way:

> Therefore, dearly beloved, persevere in the discipline that you have taken upon you so that through humility you may ascend to the highest; that is the way, and there is no other beside it. He who goes elsewhere falls down instead of ascending, for it is only humility that exalts, only that which leads to life.[32]

Hitherto, we have primarily discussed that retrospective orientation of the monastery which is related to the longing for Paradise. At least as important, however, is this orientation towards incarnation which is retrospective but first and foremost actualizing. The contemplation of Christ *in carne* is the way to an understanding of Christ *in spiritu*: the pondering of his temporal and terrestrial life leads to the acknowledgement of his infinite and ongoing redemption, and the locales of incarnation have an important part to play in this process:

> Now you have the person of he who comes, and both places, that is the one which he has come from and the one which he has come to, and also, you are not unknowing of the cause and time. One thing remains, namely the way by which he comes. Also this must be diligently sought, in order that we may hasten to meet him as it befits us. Nevertheless, just as he once came, visible in the flesh, in order to perform salvation in the midst of the earth, in the same way each day he comes invisible in spirit to save the souls of individual human beings […] It is not necessary for you, O man, to cross seas; nor is it necessary to penetrate clouds, or cross

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[29] "Quocumque enim terrarum iisset, eum indivisibiliter sequerentur; mare, sicut Petrus aliquando fecit, cum eo etiam submergendi intrarent; sed hac sequi non poterant […]" Asc 2.3; Winkler VIII: 326.

[30] "Verumtamen quid mihi et sollemnitatibus istis?" Asc 2.4; Winkler VIII: 326.

[31] Asc 2.4; Winkler VIII: 328.

[32] "Propterea, dilectissimi, perseverate in disciplina quam suscepistis, ut per humilitatem ad sublimitatem ascendatis, quia haec via, et non alia praeter ipsam. Qui aliter vadit, cadit potius, quam ascendit, quia sola est humilitas quae exaltat, sola quae ducit ad vitam." Asc 2.6; Winkler VIII: 330.

mountains. I say, no great way is shown to you: meet your God in your-
self. 'For the Word is near in your mouth and in your heart' (Rom 10.8).[33]

These passages display the central movement from visibility to invisi-
bility. They moreover emphasize the dynamics between collective and
individual salvation. An elucidation of the message is offered by means
of different loci and the crossing of the gaps between them. In the ser-
mon it is related how by the very act of incarnation, salvation has been
brought to the locus of the earth in a unique and collectively focused
act of salvation. Furthermore, however, each man is the locus of an
ongoing, individual, spiritually focused salvation, operating through,
and rooted in, man's self-knowledge, leading to humility of the heart
and recognition of his dependence on God. Christ therefore left his
heavenly homeland to enter the earth in a single incident;[34] he never-
theless enters each soul continuously.

Taking his point of departure in the liturgical context, *adventus Do-
mini*, Bernard here stresses that it is Christ who moves, not man. This
motif is carried through even to the point of affirming that no way is
shown to man—not as a conclusive statement, as we know. In Adv 1.8,
Bernard remarks that man ought to have come to God, but is incapable
of it because of the blindness of his eyes and the fact that he is bound
to his sickbed. As the passage just quoted states, man does not need to
cross any borders, neither *transfretare*, nor *penetrare* or *transalpinare*. In this
configuration, it is Christ who does the crossing, Christ who enters the
locus of the soul. The two traversals left for man to carry out are that
of the conversion of his own pride on the one hand, and the confession
passing his lips on the other.

This sermon on the advent of Christ points to both topography and
topographical implications, such as those referred to in the three Latin
verbs, as a provisional, visible, and material version of a spirituality
which in itself is not topographically extended but invisibly located in

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[33] "Habetis iam et personam venientis, et locum utrumque, id est, a quo, et ad quem
venit; causam quoque et tempus non ignoratis. Unum restat, via scilicet per quam
venit, et haec quoque diligenter requirenda, ut possimus, sicut dignus est, occurrere
ei. Verumtamen, sicut ad operandam salutem in medio terrae semel venit in carne
visibilis, ita quotidie ad salvandas animas singulorum in spiritu venit et invisibilis, […]
Non te oportet, o homo, maria transfretare; non penetrare nubes, non transalpinare
necesse est. Non grandis, inquam, tibi ostenditur via: usque ad temetipsum occurre
Deo tuo. PROPE EST enim VERBUM IN ORE TUO ET IN CORDE TUO (Rom 10.8)." Adv 1.10;
Winkler VII: 72–74.
[34] "He has come from the highest heaven to the inferior parts of the earth." ("[…]
venit a summo caelo in inferiores partes terrae.") Adv 1.6; Winkler VII: 66.

each human being. The passage highlights the fact that the topography within which Christ moves is related to the *caro* by which man may be led on to *spiritus*. The topographical materialization is familiar and comprehensible to man, but in this case this materialization is thrust aside by Christ when he comes invisibly to the spirit, rendering void any kind of 'transalpination'. In this coming, the need for a topographical language is also thrust to one side, replaced as it is by the indescribable. M. Ferguson, drawing on Cicero's definition of metaphorical words as being placed in "an alien place", compares the spatial language of Augustine with Derrida's thought of language as mimetic: "By its use of spatial metaphors Augustine's text defines itself as 'exiled' into the dissimilitude of figurative language".[35] However, as far as I can see, Bernard has a much more positive view on language than the one, influenced by Plato and Derrida, that Ferguson ascribes to Augustine. To Bernard, language is not a restriction but an instrument—and a wonderful one too, judging from his way of using it.

5. *The five windows of contemplation*

The crucial role of the carnal or tangible aspects of incarnation is not only related to liturgical but also to contemplative actualization. This is a theme addressed in the parable's introduction of the window of Christ. It is broached with painstaking care:

> These five themes on which we reflect in contemplation are viewed through five windows. A window is a space in a wall. If the wall is unbroken, there is no window. If there is only a space without a wall there is no window. A wall which contains a space is called a window. Christ's humanity was like a wall which yet allowed the divinity to shine forth within that humanity. Therefore Christ is a window.[36]

The window is generally a feature of crisis. Most often, like doors, windows are described as gates of access. Frequently, sin and death enter by the windows of the eyes,[37] or by the five senses more generally.

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[35] Ferguson 1975, 853; the quotation from Cicero is on 842.

[36] "Haec autem quinque quae in contemplatione consideravimus, per quinque fenestras videntur. Fenestra ex aere et pariete constat. Nam ubi est paries continuus, nulla est fenestra. Item ubi est aer absque pariete, non est fenestra. Sed paries admittens infra seipsum aerem vocatur fenestra. Christus vero est ex humanitate, quasi pariete, et divinitate intra humanitatem lucente. Itaque Christus fenestra est [...]" Par VI; Winkler IV: 868. Casey's translation, 79.

[37] For instance Ded 3.1, VI p Pent 2.5, and SC 35.2.

Thus Bernard says of the five senses: "Close the windows, lock the doors, block up the openings carefully and then, when fresh filth has ceased to flow, you can clean out the old."[38] But windows may also offer a way of access to the bridegroom. An example is to be found in SC 56 which expounds Song 2.9.[39] In this sermon the wall is the body and the window is the confession by which Christ is given access to the interior man (SC 56.7). In short, windows signify ways of entry in the exchange between exterior forces or influences and the inner life of each human being. The parable's windows of contemplation through which a person may look out rather than being approached are rare in Bernard; also Sent II.127 describes windows of contemplation of yet a somewhat different nature.[40]

The parable's passage on the contemplative windows constitutes a mediation between incarnation and contemporary human life. As we saw earlier, Par IV considers incarnation as a demarcated space and time, occurring in the *cubiculum* after the son had left his father and before he departed for a distant land, and that parable specifically stresses the despairing impact and experience of Christ's absence on the fate of Ecclesia. In this parable, however, Bernard expounds the exchange between human, or even more specifically, monastic time and space and the time and space of incarnation, pointing to the urge for a regenerative interpretation of the story of Christ told in the New Testament, with the addition of Old Testament typologies.

The passage on windows of Par VI is another significant example of the Bernardine way of approaching a topographical whole by looking at it from different points of view. He thereby obtains different vistas, each of which has a topographical *pars pro toto* significance. In this case, he even adds the intermediary feature of the window, thus establishing

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[38] "Claude fenestras, obsera aditus, foramina obstrue diligenter, et sic demum non subeuntibus novis, sordes poteris expurgare vetustas." Conv VI.8; Winkler IV: 170. Saïd's translation, 41.

[39] NRSV: "Look, there he stands behind our wall, gazing in at the windows, looking through the lattice"; Vulgate: "en ipse stat post parietem nostrum despiciens per fenestras prospiciens per cancellos".

[40] Casey 2000, 79, note 7. The sentence reads: "There are three windows for contemplatives: that which initiates contemplation, which is the window facing east; that which directs contemplation, which is that facing south; and that which brings contemplation to fulfillment, which is the window looking to the west." ("Contemplativorum fenestrae tres sunt: originaria, quae est versus orientem; gubernatricia, quae vergit ad austrum; consummaticia, quae respicit ad occidentem.") Sent II.127; Winkler IV: 348. Swietek's translation, 166.

a crucial tri-polar exchange between viewer, window, and vista. Each of the views through the window of Christ reflects a foreground related to incarnation and an object related to human life. But moreover, each view points to an implicit viewer relating to vista and window at once. These three points are separated from the others by a gap or space. The gap between the viewer and the window marks the separation of the contemplator from Christ, wide enough still despite the approach implicit in contemplation. The gap between the window and the vista, that is between the life of Christ and that of man, constitutes a space in which is unfolded the compound vision emerging from a convergence of window and vista. This convergence may have the shape of a *psychomachia*, as is the case with the first vista, in which sin and hell are viewed through incarnation. Or it may create an edifying point of orientation, as is the case with the second vista, in which contempt and hope are viewed through the life of Christ and lead to contempt of the world and hope of heaven.

The five vistas related to the glove of contemplation are presented as follows: the first view is that of sin and hell regarded through incarnation. This view reveals the locus of hell characterized by the essence of sin. However, it also implies a specific focus on the fact that by becoming man Christ has conquered hell. Thus, man is here confronted with hell viewed from the safe distance of Christ's intermediary grace. In this view, the frame and the vista itself interact by means of tension, struggle, and illumination. The two-phase vision presented here resembles those of Par II and III ("Inter Babylonem et Ierusalem nulla est pax, sed guerra continua").

The second view is that of contempt and hope regarded through the window of the life of Christ. Contempt and hope are related to the anthropological aspect of the loci of earth and heaven respectively. While elsewhere stressing the humility of Christ as the primary lesson to be learned from his life,[41] Bernard here depicts the life of Christ as a model for the *peregrinus* who spurns terrestrial carnality by means of contempt, as did Christ. At the same time, the life of Christ becomes a model for the *viator* who must progress towards his heavenly homeland by means of the hope proffered by the incarnation. This puts him in contact with Christ as *viaticum*.

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[41] For instance Hum I.1.

The third view is that of the judgement and the kingdom of Christ, considered through his teachings. The judgement is one of two actions related to the locale of the celestial kingdom; the other is the union with God. The fourth view is the glorification of the body regarded through the resurrection of Christ. The resurrection, introduced in the topos of the empty tomb, prefigures the resurrection of man. Finally the fifth view is the union with God regarded if only faintly through Christ's ascension. The ascension points the way to heaven by which man also is to travel in due course, referring to a vision located in heaven.

In all five vistas Christ is represented as the filter through which the monk views the stages of spiritual progress. In this contemplation, spiritual topography is related to Christological topography in a way which is partly imitative, in that it approximates spiritual topoi to topoi of incarnation, partly sequestering, in that it distinguishes between the incompletion of the topoi of spiritual progress and the fulfilment implied in those of incarnation. Par VI sets up a significant tension between the stages by which—in the incarnation as well as in the contemplative meeting between Christ and his bride—Christ enters the world, embraces the Church in the *thalamus*, and then withdraws leaving behind a means by which the individual soul may gain access to the incarnation, namely the glove of contemplation. It is suggested that by, so to speak, activating the Christological topoi in contemplation, the contemplators may achieve an enhanced understanding of their own conditions, and thus remain among those faithful few who shun the *divertissements* of the Devil and guard the Church.

The contemplation of the aspects of incarnation is further elaborated in Bernard's fourth sermon *In resurrectione*: "Everything we read about the Saviour is remedies for our souls."[42] In this brief sermon Bernard states that "Indeed, there are some to whom Christ is not yet born, some to whom he has not died and some to whom he has not risen right up to this point."[43] This statement associates the linear time of incarnation with spiritual progression in a simultaneous and parallel course. Thus the contemplation does not focus only on meditative observation, but indeed on the actual experience of incarnation.

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[42] "Omnia quae de Salvatore legimus, medicamina sunt animarum nostrarum." Pasc 4.1; Winkler VIII: 290.

[43] "Sunt enim quibus nondum natus est Christus, sunt quibus nondum est passus, sunt quibus non surrexit usque adhuc." Pasc 4.1; Winkler VIII: 290.

6. *The Church in Jerusalem*

When the king's son ascended, he urged his bride to stay in Jerusalem. In other words, he warned her not to return to Babylon. In this way, the parable points once again partly to the *psychomachia* motif, admonishing the Church to cleave to the camp of the Jerusalemites, and partly to the theme of the two cities, beseeching her to remain the terrestrial manifestation of the celestial Jerusalem. The two themes are elaborated in the subsequent course of the action, which shows that the urge is not so easily adhered to during the various diabolical attacks. Unsurprisingly, the most dangerous of these attacks resorts to stealth and slyness, and attacks the Church from within in a reiteration of the original lapsarian deception. On a text-immanent level this stealth contrasts with the introductory release of the Church from Babylon. In this release, a secret message to the Virgin effected a conversion. And it is this conversion which is now reversed by means of a secret diabolical impetus.

Par VI presents another example of the spiritual battle fluctuating in a continuous tension between progression and detention. Here however the tide of battle is depicted as having all but stopped in an unhappy sort of slack water. This is shown in the last stage of the parable, where it is revealed that the Devil has set traps, and how the souls who ought to constitute the Church have let themselves be caught.

Par VI is concluded with a view to the individual souls who form the Church. It is in this last stage that the primary "You are here" marks of the parable are put in place. Contemporary terrestrial misery is evoked in the spectacle of the Church who is—lacerated and with only a few monks and canons to cover up her nudity—almost back where she started: an *Aethiopissa* in the garments of a slave. The exuberant clothing that she wore earlier is now exclusively at the Devil's disposal, together with all sorts of luxurious and carnal pastimes. The mapping presented by Bernard in this final stage covers the way of the Church as well as the landscape beside this way. Bernard offers some very clear cartographic signs that enable the spectator to locate himself on the map in front of him: you are here, i.e. in this terrestrial setting with its tents, songs, and honeyed wine, in a seething market panorama which in its own way matches the lost splendours of Babylon depicted in Rev 18.

The parable shows that there are two ways of navigating this setting. One is either on the road with the Church, or off the road in the taverns of the Devil, eating, drinking, and dancing. This map depicts

neither the terminus for which the Church is making, nor the boundaries of the diabolic areas. The fact however that the way ends in the celestial Jerusalem, just as the deviating course from tavern to tavern, lingering over diversions, will lead direct to hell, is topographical knowledge presupposed. A happy ending is hinted at in the prologue which states that it was in the fourth watch that the boat would have been in danger had Jesus not come to the disciples.[44] But it is not a thread resumed in the parable proper.

7. *Topographical plot*

This parable lays out a topographical structure which includes the celestial kingdom, Babylon, the *thalamus* of Mary, and a Jerusalem which develops into a terrestrial region. The topography in some ways resembles those proposed in the other parables. In this case, however, the topography of incarnation has been inserted.

The two structures are brought into interaction by means of the five-fold contemplation, in which different topoi of the wider topographical context are viewed through the lens of the topography of incarnation. From a topographical point of view the most important of these vistas are the first, in which, in the terms of the parable, Babylon is viewed through the *thalamus*; the second, in which both the terrestrial setting and the celestial kingdom are viewed through the life of Christ, represented in this text by the two fur coats of mortification of the flesh and of passion and humility; finally the fifth and last, in which the ascension of Christ shows where the way of the Church will lead, if it is followed. Thus, the parable presents a complex mapping in which different areas interact. But at the same time the last stage asks a much less complicated topographical question: do you follow the way or do you linger beside it with the Devil?

At all events, the thrust and warning of the parable is that the monks must orientate themselves in this landscape and follow the right way of the Church. The remedy offered to secure this course is to observe the world through the incarnation of Christ.

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[44] Mt 14.24–25, NRSV: "[…] but by this time the boat, battered by the waves, was far from the land, for the wind was against them. And early in the morning he came walking towards them on the sea." In Vulgate, the time is set as "quarta vigilia". In other words, in his reference, Bernard makes the designation of the point of time the pivot of a transfer of the New Testament maritime rescue into the context of the spiritual battle.

PARABOLA VII, DE OCTO BEATITUDINIBUS

I. *Summary*

"The kingdom of heaven is like a monk who is a trader. When he hears that a market is to be held in the near future, he gathers together his wares that are to be displayed there."[1] He sets out with eight things. While on his way he met the Lord Jesus Christ who looked at his activity and diligence. "Where do you come from?" said the Lord, "And where do you go?"

Monk:[2]	I come from the monastery and I go to the market to sell these things if I can find a buyer.
The Lord:	The things have a buyer if they have a seller. Unwrap the first one.
Monk:	You have said "Blessed are the poor in spirit".[3] Here is nothing but poverty and misery.
The Lord:	What is the price?
Monk:	The kingdom of heaven.
The Lord:	That is a high price! But we should not consider only one thing. Bring forward the second one!
Monk:	Gentleness! Blessed are the meek.
The Lord:	Splendid thing, gentleness, and worthy of God. What is the price?
Monk:	I will have nothing but the land for it.
The Lord:	From India to Britannia is a spacious land. Take as much as you want.
Monk:	No, no, that is the land of the dead. I want the land of the living.

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[1] "Simile est regnum caelorum monacho negotiatori qui, audiens proximarum nundinarum opinionem, sarcinas suas composuit in foro exponendas." Par VII; Winkler IV: 874. Casey's translation, 89. This parable has no paragraph numbers.

[2] From this point the parable develops into a regular dialogue and it is paraphrased as such. For the dramaturgical innovation implied in the parable's shaping of the dialogue with the names of the *dramatis personae* and their respective lines, see Verbaal 2003, 246.

[3] The dialogue goes through the beatitudes of Mt 5.3–11.

The Lord: You want to live forever? Then listen: Blessed are the meek,
            for they will inherit the land. What is in the third one?
Monk: Hunger, famine, thirst, and need of everything.
The Lord: And what is the price of this article?
Monk: Justice. Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for
            righteousness, for they will be filled.
The Lord: So you will be filled, and justice will come to you if
            negligence does not intervene. What does the fourth one
            contain?
Monk: Tears and weeping, streams from above and streams from
            below.
The Lord: And since you want a price for that as well: Blessed are
            those who mourn, for they will be comforted. What is in the
            fifth bag?
Monk: Something precious, compassion. I want compassion for
            compassion, but the eternal one for the terrestrial one.
The Lord: Your judgement is poor. You will never get something
            eternal for something terrestrial, unless that very same
            compassion works for you. But it will be done because of
            your faith, and blessed are the merciful, for they will receive
            mercy. But how about the sixth?
Monk: That is better, but this one does not like to be public, it is
            best viewed in secrecy, within, in the chamber.[4]
The Lord: Well, now we are inside, what is it?
Monk: Cleanness of heart. That precious vessel contains piety, love,
            and joy in the Holy Spirit. From that one I spread out to
            you the precious clothes of readings, meditations, prayers,
            contemplations.
The Lord: Ask what you want.
Monk: The vision of God.
The Lord: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God. Now
            unfold the seventh.
Monk: It contains peace.
The Lord: You want to sell me your peace?
Monk: My poverty is not profitable. You should not receive
            something from me for free. I am a coarse and ignoble
            man, I cannot improve myself further because "you are
            dust, and to dust you shall return".[5] I would rather that it
            had been said to me: "You are heaven and to heaven you
            shall go." I want to be a son of God.
The Lord: I have said and I shall not deny it, blessed be the peacemak-
            ers, for they will be called children of God. And if you keep

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[4] "in cubiculo" Par VII; Winkler IV: 878.
[5] Gen 3.19.

the love of a child, you shall have the inheritance. Now, only one is left.

Monk: It holds nothing but persecutions and trials endured for the sake of justice.

The Lord: And what do you demand for that?

Monk: The kingdom of heaven.

The Lord: I have already granted you that as a payment for poverty.

Monk: I want a pledge. I want half of the debt this Sabbath or month and expect the rest the following Sabbath or month.

The Lord: I am amazed at your prudence in negotiation. I want you to relate every aspect of your negotiation in case you can excite some of your kind to emulate you.

Monk: You know how I was created by God the Father and became a new creation through your baptism: I was placed in the paradise of knowledge. But I lay back in the embrace of my Eve, that is, carnality. And the serpent entered the paradise of my conscience and found me sleeping in the embrace of evil. And it went to my Eve hissing into her ear its poison of persuasion to evil. Then it led her onto the way of curiosity to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. And the woman saw the tree and desired it. And she came with the serpent to me, and while I was sleeping put the apple of disobedience in my mouth and I ate. And we became one flesh, namely the old Adam who is completely flesh.

And God walked about in Paradise calling: "Adam where are you? Look, look where you are, for in Paradise where I placed you, you are not." And I said: "Lord, I have heard your voice and hidden myself." Enraged God threw me out, and he made me garments of skin, the monk's habit, that is, signifying mortification and penitence. When I had become a monk I began to work on the land of my flesh, and sighing I looked towards Paradise.

I saw the Cherub, the father of the monastery, holding the sword of discipline in order to cut off the spiritual and carnal vices right and left. He guarded the way to the tree of life, and as this was my only way back, I exposed myself to his sword. And after that I achieved wisdom, which is the tree of life. And I forgot my former vices, recovered my spirit, and formed a hope of immortality. However, I heard wisdom disputing the eight beatitudes and I burned with desire to be blessed. I burned and I loved and I cried out for the Lord and he heard me. And what I have obtained in troublesome labour I have now shown to you in order to ask from you the price promised.

The Lord: How happy would the human condition be if all business
            was thus transacted to destroy the carnal desire. But who is
            that now? It looks like another merchant, but he has only
            four bundles.
Monk: He is a trader with little to sell. He lives only on the plains
            with the crowds of Judea and the sea coasts and from Tyre
            and Sidon. He does not desire to go up the mountain of
            the Lord with the apostles. He has the poverty of spirit, the
            grief of penitence, the hunger for justice, and perseverance.
            Luke the Syrian doctor taught him. But he has not revealed
            to him the riches that my tax-collector Matthew sitting at
            his tax-desk, prescribed.
The Lord: Well, that is the kingdom of heaven for you, "both small
            and great are there" (Job 3.19). But tell me, where have you
            achieved this?
Monk: In the monastery, in the cloister, in the enclosed discipline.
            That is a place for negotiation.
The Lord: How happy is the dwelling of the monastery! I make you
            the apostle of your brothers. Tell them not to delight in
            wandering off from the monastic enclosure which holds
            such a possibility of turning a profit.

II. *Discussion*

With Par VII we return to the more straightforward parabolic ren-
dering, this time elaborated with another pedagogical tool, that of the
dialogue.

1. *The two plots of the parable*

Christ's introductory question, "Where do you come from, where do
you go?" ("'Unde', inquit, 'et quo?'") indicates the general narrative
structure of the parable. It is a question that Justice asked in Par II,
and it was the double answer to this question that the novice of Par III
learned on his way back from Babylon to his homeland.

Par VII is set in two separate scenarios each of which contains its
own topographical complexity, and each of which proposes an answer
to the double question, "Where do you come from, and where do you
go?" The overall scenario and spiritual framework of the narrative is
the monastic plot. This plot is unfolded around the *via* of the monk
(with a short necessary deviation into the *cubiculum*) and tells how the
monk went to the market and met Christ on his way. The *via* of the

monk takes its point of departure in the monastery from which he sets out and is aimed at the heavenly kingdom that he buys on his way. While the monastic affiliation is emphasized both in the narrative starting point and in the concluding words of Christ, the aim of the heavenly kingdom is made clear at the opening of the parable and resumed throughout the negotiation. In other words, the monastery and the heavenly kingdom are two twined threads that run through the parable.

Into this monastic plot is embedded a narrative of the incidents that led the monk into the monastery. These incidents universalize to some extent the storyline: as does the topography, which extends as far as Paradise. But the centre of gravity remains the somewhat ambiguous evocation of the monastery. Although Par VII thus views salvation history from the overall point of view of the cloister, it also retains the idea of the monastery as a topos between Paradise and heavenly kingdom.

Timmermann states that Par I and VII are not related, whereas Casey points to similarities between Par I and the middle section of Par VII.[6] In our context, it may be argued that the two parables chart the same topographical ground, encompassing Paradise, a *regio dissimilitudinis*, a locale of wisdom, and the heavenly homeland. The two parables moreover go through the same themes of leaving the paradisiacal homeland and the endeavours to return (and progress) by the aid of virtues. But this parable offers a much more explicit monastic focus.

Anthropologically, the two different yet interactive plots of Par VII each has its specific stress on the aspect of respectively *viator* and *peregrinus*. The overall narrative is direct in its depiction of the monk as a *viator* who is on his way with his goods, while the inserted rehearsal of the Fall recounts his expulsion into *peregrinatio* and finds him longing for the homeland. As a consequence of the interaction and the slippage between the overall plot (wayfaring monk meets Christ) and the embedded plot (the Fall and restoration), the parable presents a dense and somewhat turbulent narrative structure of past and present, held together by the *memoria* of the monk.

2. *The monastic plot: Christ and the wayfarer*

The monastic plot contains two key aspects; the meeting between the *viator* and Christ, and the business motif.

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[6] Timmermann 1982, 39; Casey 1987, 38.

a. The meeting in the road

The monk's encounter with Christ echoes the disciples' meeting with Christ on their way to Emmaus (Lk 24.13–35). As we saw in Div 31.7, the Emmaus incident may be understood as a manifestation of Christ as the *viaticum* or even fellow traveller of tired wanderers. The monk of Par VII, however, wants no succour; he wants business. No ordinary monk, this one is a perfect *viator*; who knows his goal and recognizes it the moment it comes within reach. In this he differs from both the disciples of Luke's account and other versions of the meeting on the way to Emmaus.[7] In fact, this parable seems to present a kind of 'more-than-incarnation' actualization, in which Christ is not surrounded by more or less conscious disciples but is greeted by a fully conscious monk who recognizes at once the true value of the meeting.

This meeting between Christ and the monk shows traits of identity with the joining of Christ and the soul in the *cubiculum*. This allusion is indicated by the text when the monk urges Christ to follow him into secrecy, inside, into the chamber (*nec in publico, sed in secreto, intus, in cubiculo*) because the cleanness of the heart recoils from publicity. But the meeting on the road does not imply the fragrant sweetness of the union of bride and groom; this is a man-to-man encounter and the matter in hand is business, not kisses. The *cubiculum* is thus both a location connoting a condensation of intimacy in the relation between soul and Christ, and more generally a place in which exchanges between Christ and man take place. Just as in Par IV and VI, the *cubiculum* is the locale of incarnation.

Apart from the brief diversion into the *cubiculum*, the meeting between Christ and the monk takes place in an indefinite inter-region, the way. In their dialogue, the two figures refer to a compound topographical horizon, containing Paradise, the monastery, and the kingdom of heaven as well as Britannia, India, and the spacious lands between them. Yet, as befits a horizon, each of these places is somewhere else. The monk thus seems to hover above or beyond both the terrestrial land of the dead and the monastery to which he belongs, just as Christ

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[7] It is significant that iconography shows the disciples on their way to Emmaus as *peregrini* in the sense of pilgrims, their attributes being those of a pilgrim, cockleshell, staff, and scrip. But they are in fact also *peregrini* in the sense that they are estranged from Christ when they meet him on their way, a point significantly reversed in their words to Christ, Lk. 24.18: "Are you the only stranger in Jerusalem?" ("Tu solus peregrinus es in Ierusalem?"). See also Gardiner 1971, 11–52.

for a moment has left his kingdom. The way constitutes a place from which they may refer to each of the other places mentioned. Apparently, this horizon is shared by Christ and the monk; only Christ has a few blind spots which quite conveniently motivate an intensification of some of the main themes of the parable. The failure of the Lord to realize which kind of land the monk wants and his offer of Britannia and India provides an opportunity to stress the difference between terrestrial and heavenly kingdoms while adding a note of drollery to the dialogue. The monk says:

> I ask for the land. I do not want anything else in exchange for it, only the land. *The Lord*: The land stretches from India to Britannia. There is plenty of room and a need for cultivators. Take as much as you want, in whatever region you choose. *The monk*: Never! That is the land of the dead. It devours its inhabitants; human beings die in it. For my part, I desire the land of the living.[8]

Here, terrestrial and soteriological topographies clash magnificently and this, on a graver note, brings out the incompatibility of terrestrial standards with those that the monk has in mind. Similarly, Christ's unfamiliarity with the monastery is the occasion for his concluding eulogy of this place among other things leading to a warning on Christ's part to keep the monastic *stabilitas*.

b. Doing business

The overall theme of the business of the monk as well as the first words of the parable, "The kingdom of heaven is like a monk" associates this parable with Mt 13.45–46.[9] Leclercq points to markets such as that at Troyes, the majority of whose vendors were Cistercian, as the immediate backdrop of the text.[10] And presumably the parable takes place in a field of tension between everyday experience and biblical models.

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[8] "'Sed terram requiro, non nisi terram pro ea accipere desidero.'—Dominus: 'Ab India usque in Britanniam terra spatiosa est et cultoribus indiget. Accipe quantum vis, ubi vis.'—Monachus: 'Nequaquam. Haec terra est morientium, devorat habitatores suos, moriuntur in ea homines. Ego vero terram viventium desidero.'" Par VII; Winkler IV: 876. Casey's translation, 90.

[9] "Again, the Kingdom of Heaven is like a merchant in search of fine pearls; on finding one pearl of great value, he went and sold all that he had and bought it."

[10] Leclercq 1979, 111.

The suggestion that the kingdom of God may be obtained by means of bargaining is also found in Bernard's appeal to the people of Eastern Franconia and Bavaria to join the second crusade:

> If you are a skilled merchant, if you are 'the debater of this age', then I reveal to you this great market-day, take care that it does not pass you by. Take up the sign of the Cross and simultaneously you will obtain forgiveness for every sin you confess with penitent heart. The cloth costs little when it is bought but if it is put on with a devout mind, it is without a doubt worth the kingdom of God.[11]

But the two most important texts on this subject are the related Div 42 and Sent III.91, both of which offer elaborate expositions based on Lk 19.13.[12] The *sententia* associates the return of Luke's nobleman to each person's death, when the Lord comes to condemn or reward. Div 42 begins on a more autonomous note, with a doxology in which Christ among other names is given the rare Christological title *summus ille negotiator*, the top trader, with a reference to the passion of Christ as a transaction in which the just man is traded for the sinner. The judgement is an implicit but never-mentioned theme of Div 42, primarily concerned as it is with the daily ascetic mortification, even if the pattern of the content is similar to that of the *sententia*.

In these two texts, Bernard lists five different regions, each of them pictured as a marketplace where the speciality, so to speak, of that very region may be acquired. According to Sent III.91, the five regions and the goods (*merces*) that they offer are: the region of unlikeness (*regio dissimilitudinis*) / contempt for the world (*contemptus mundi*), the southern region of the monastery (*regio australis*) / the (right) way of living (*forma vivendi*), the region of expiation (*regio expiationis*) / disposition for compassion (*affectus compatiendi*), region of Gehenna (*regio gehennalis*) / hate of sin (*odium peccati*), and finally the heavenly region (*regio supercaelestis*) / love of God (*amor Dei*). Div 42 differs in calling the second region *paradisus claustralis* and the last one *paradisus supercaelestis*.

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[11] "Si prudens mercator es, si conquisitor huius saeculi (1 Cor 1.20), magnas quasdam tibi nundinas indico, vide ne te praetereant. Suscipe Crucis signum, et omnium pariter, de quibus corde contrito confessionem feceris, indulgentiam obtinebis delictorum. Materia ipsa si emitur, parvi constat; si devote assumitur humero, valet sine dubio regnum Dei." Ep 363.5; Winkler III: 656 This letter is not included in James's translation.

[12] NRSV: "Do business [with these ten pounds] until I come back"; Vulgate: "Negotiamini dum venio".

   The five regions represent five stages. Thus it is not a question of choosing one region but rather of progressing through each of them on a journey in which Christ is the only guide (*te solum habens in itinere ducem*).[13] Little wonder that Div 42 is the text which has elicited most scholarly comment on Bernard as topographer. Once again, the imagery is not a series of stylized allegories, but a complex phraseology drawing on stock ideas and developing them into new semantic constructions. Thus, it is said at the end of the passage about *regio dissimilitudinis*: "But one who is wise and a good merchant, so long as the present market-days continue and there is an opportunity to buy, acquires for himself a profitable cargo—that is, contempt for the world."[14] As was the case in Par VI's view of the terrestrial world through the window of the life of Christ, *contemptus mundi* is the only proper outcome of any contemplation of the world.

   Sent III.91, however, is far from contemplative. This text plays on both the outcome and the necessary astuteness of the dealer, while keeping in mind the 'before' and 'after' of the monk's conversion. Thus there are two stories evolving through the text; one about negotiation, one about spiritual progression. Each of these stories has its own vocabulary, but they are held together by points of convergence; points which apply equally to both stories. This is for instance the case in the description in the *sentencia* of the heavenly Jerusalem:

> The forum and the markets of this region bestow upon those who do business there both a brilliant reputation and fruitful advantage. The stock acquired here is far more precious than the others. It is love of God.[15]

This passage begins with the haggling (*forum* and *nundinae*), it proceeds via features that could pertain to both material and spiritual gain and standing (*clarum nomen* and *fructuosa utilitas*), and finally lands unequivocally in the spiritual story with the love of God.

   Both Div 42 and Sent III.91 suggest a theme similar to that of the parable: the accumulation of a certain range of goods will enable the holder to obtain heavenly beatitude. Thus, in the words of the *sentencia*,

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[13] Div 42.1; Winkler IX: 530–532.

[14] "Sed qui sapit et negotiator bonus est, dum durant nundinae istae et tempus est comparandi, utilem sibi parat sarcinam, id est contemptum mundi." Sent III.91; Winkler IV: 536. Swietek's translation, 290.

[15] "Forum et nundinae regionis istius et clarum nomen et fructuosam conferunt utilitatem mercatoribus suis. Hic longe pretiosior ceteris sarcina comparatur, id est amor Dei." Sent III.91; Winkler IV: 544. Swietek's translation, 294.

only "the servant who has endeavoured to acquire riches of this sort deserves in future, having been put in charge of many matters, to enter into the joy of his Lord."[16]

It may be added in conclusion that the Devil also does business on the market-day. In Par VI we saw people tempted to leave the way of the Church and enter into the taverns of the devil (*in tabernis diaboli*) or, in Casey's words, "Satan's bazaar" to shop for honeyed wine, delicious food, loose women, jesting, and profane songs. Par VII presents a scenario which in is every sense antithetical to that bazaar; with the monk rather than the Devil as the vendor and Christ rather than mankind as purchaser. It also indicates that the bargain is not at all an equal one, as the mercy of Christ leads him to buy the goods of the monk at rather high price.

3. *The lapsarian plot*

Christ's wish to know the background of this skilful negotiator elicits a narrative within the narrative, a reproduction of the Fall retold as an autobiography of the monk.

a. Expulsion from Paradise

The Paradise in which the monk's tale has its beginning turns out not to be the Garden of Eden of Genesis: "Your wisdom which reaches to the ends of the earth and disposes all things firmly and sweetly," the monk says to Christ, "knows how I was created by God the Father, how I became a new creature by your baptism and was placed in the paradise of good conscience so that I could work and maintain it."[17] The monk's account thus depicts a second Fall, modelled almost *verbatim* on the first. This impression that, in the story of the monk, past and present time and space converge—or even collapse—is not diminished as the parable proceeds.

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[16] "Qui dilatatus fuerit mercibus huiusmodi, meretur aliquando, super multa constitutus, intrare in gaudium domini sui." Sent III.91; Winkler IV: 544. Swietek's translation, 295.

[17] "Scit attingens usque ad finem fortiter et disponens omnia suaviter sapientia tua, quomodo a Patre Deo creatus, nova creatura per baptismum tuum, in paradiso bonae scientiae positus sum, ut operarer et custodirer illum […]" Par VII; Winkler IV: 880–882. Casey's translation, 93.

In the monk's autobiography, his story becomes that of Adam. He acquires Gen 1–3 for himself. This career to some degree resembles the introductory events of the first parable, but the language is altogether different. While in the first parable, the Paradise scene is quite formal and distant in tone, Par VII presents a highly imaginative scenario. Bernard meanders in and out of the Genesis narrative in a manner which emphasizes the innovative traits in the monk's story. Well-known features receive dramatic intensification such as the serpent: "silent and slippery and full of guile" (*levi et doloso allapsu circumiens*). Others are given an extended meaning; thus Eve is not only an autonomous figure who acts on her own but is closely attached to the monk as his fleshly nature. The particular personal stress of the first-person narrative moreover attracts attention as an obvious point of identification. Thus, the story of humankind becomes that of the individual; the identity between the first Adam and the Adam in each human is brought out.

Whereas in Par I the Fall explicitly took place outside Paradise, this parable stages the Fall in Paradise; the Paradise, that is, of the monk's good conscience.

> The serpent was more cunning than all the beasts which God had created on the earth. Once, when he was making his rounds, silent and slippery and full of guile, he found a chink of negligence in the surrounding wall. Without any opposition he entered into the paradise of my conscience.[18]

The monk has not properly guarded the walls of his soul's fortification. His Paradise within is attacked and overcome, with his carnal Eve as *mediatrix*.

The Fall of the monk is presented as a descent by easy steps, slipping from one vice to another in a description which condenses the gradual downward glissando of *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* into one single sentence: "From security I fell into negligence, from negligence to curiosity, from curiosity into desire, from desire into habit, from habit into contempt, and from contempt into malice."[19] The passage on Eve's slide into sin displays a similar rhetorical strategy:

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[18] "Serpens enim erat callidior super omnes bestias quas creaverat Deus super terram, qui, levi et doloso allapsu circumiens, invenit foramen negligentiae, in muro circumstantiae et, nullo resistente, in paradisum conscientiae meae ingressus est […]" Par VII; Winkler IV: 882. Casey's translation, 94.

[19] "De securitate enim cecidi in negligentiam, de negligentia in curiositatem, de curiositate in concupiscentiam, de concupiscentia in consuetudinem, de consuetudine

> The woman saw that the tree was beautiful to see and of pleasing aspect so she desired it. She gave her consent and grew accustomed to it. She held in contempt the prospect of returning to her husband and seeking advice from him […]

Casey's wholesome and lucid sentences mask somewhat the original which sets off at restrained pace but soon makes a frenzied acceleration through one of Bernard's compact clusters of alliterations: "concupivit et consensit et consuevit et contempsit redire ad virum et consulere eum", emphasizing the rapidity with which one thing leads to another once man goes wrong; from the beauty of the tree to downright disobedience.[20]

With unerring fidelity to Scripture, the monastic Adam of this autobiography is discovered and expelled from Paradise by God. He even receives his garment of hide (cf. Gen 3.21). The retention of the hide carries connotations related to the lapsarian loss of similitude. In *Psychomachia* it is said of Adam that he transgressed the limits of Paradise and deserted (*transfugit*) into the vast world and "took on the condition of those in hides".[21] The compound meaning of putting on hides and adopting the condition of animals recalls the animal vocabulary of the first parable, in which the departure from Paradise led to enslavement by sin, as a draught animal, in *regio dissimilitudinis*.

However, in Par VII, his expulsion from Paradise takes the monk right into his monastic habit:

> He made me garments of skins, that is, a monk's habit, the garment of mortification and a sign of penitence. He passed a sorry sentence on me, which I bear with love and patience, since it is my due. Having become a monk, I began to work the land, which is my flesh, cursed as it was by what Adam had done. I ate my bread in the sweat of my brow because the earth on which I laboured did not bring forth fruit but only thorns and thistles.[22]

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in contemptum, de contemptu in malitiam." Par VII; Winkler IV: 882. Casey's translation, 94.

  [20] "Viditque mulier lignum quod esset pulchrum visu et aspectu suave et concupivit et consensit et consuevit et contempsit redire ad virum et consulere eum […]" Par VII; Winkler IV: 882. Casey's translation, 94.

  [21] "Pellitosque habitus sumpsit" *Psychomachia* 226, 58.

  [22] "[…] fecitque mihi tunicam pelliceam, id est vestem monachi, vestem mortificationis et paenitentiae indicem, et tristem in me dictavit sententiam, quam ego merito mihi impositam pia longanimitate ferens, factus monachus, coepi operari terram carnis meae in opere Adae maledictam et in sudore vultis mei vesci pane meo, quia, cum operarer eam, non dabat fructus suos, sed spinas et tribulos germinabat mihi." Par VII; Winkler IV: 884. Casey's translation 95.

The parable by and large evades the topos of the terrestrial region. This is strictly monastic business.

The monk depicts himself standing in this region as a *peregrinus* looking back towards the homeland that has been lost: "And when things were going badly for me, I turned my face towards the road along which I had come out of paradise. I sighed, as I remembered God's mercy, and found some relief."[23] It is not till he submits himself to the monastic superior that this peregrination is terminated. He undergoes a fervent and alarming mortification with the intention of returning to Paradise. Pruned with the sword of the abbot Cherub, who has God-given power, his spiritual and carnal vices are lopped off right and left. Presumably this trimming also applies to the turning of his attention towards *via regia*, deviating neither left nor right.

b. Returning to Paradise

The issue of returning to Paradise is ambiguous. On the one hand, the Fall has brought about an irreparable exclusion. It follows that an insuperable demarcation has been established. Insuperable, that is, until the power of imagination is deployed; in the words of Pearsall and Salter: "And if it was presumptuous to imagine that this Paradise was accessible without special grace of God, it was not presumptuous to imagine what might be within those walls."[24] The urge to deal with the question of returning to Paradise in a more corporeal, or even seemingly empirical, way is reflected in the medieval Alexander-narratives which address both the wish of to enter Paradise and its importunity, while greedily grasping the opportunity of a narrative approach to the walls of Paradise. In Patch's words: "People of the time must have been led to think of Eden as scarcely 'behind the beyond', but about as remote and just as accessible as certain other marvels— deserts, rich mountains, and strange seas […]".[25]

Paradisus terrestris, however, appears to lie outside Bernard's horizon of interest. The return to Paradise reverberating in his texts is of another kind. For Bernard, the return to Paradise is associated with the idea of

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[23] "Et cum male mihi esset, converti faciem meam ad viam paradisi unde exieram, et suspirans memor fui misericordiae Dei et respiravi." Par VII; Winkler IV: 884. Casey's translation, 95.
[24] Pearsall and Salter 1973, 58.
[25] Patch 1950, 134.

spiritual progress by means of reversion: "Man, who has been situated in exile, must return via the same degrees of virtue by the loss of which he deserved to be expelled from Paradise."[26] Gregory of Nyssa presents a similar reversion of the vices that led to the Fall, entering that place first that was last left when Adam was expelled from Paradise. Of the vices that, according to Gregory, must be abandoned, marriage is thus the first (last) one, while consulting with the snake is the last (first) one.[27] This gradual return involves the successive stages of judgement, justice, and consideration. In other words, by a reversion of the causes of the Fall, the consequences of the Fall may also be reversed.

In Par VII, however, the return to Paradise is impossible. The way back has been cut off, guarded by the Cherub. This Cherub has a peculiar function. He is at once the guard who prevents the monk from re-entering Paradise, and the mediator by whose strokes of mortification the monk is able to leave the miserable land of Nod. Or rather: is able to have his Nod transformed into a *hortus conclusus*. It is by this mediation that in the end the monk is equipped to buy himself the heavenly kingdom, the goal of the *reformatio in melius*. Thus, the Cherub is a figure which bridges the gap between Paradise and Nod offering the remedy by which the monk may return. But moreover, he thus bridges that gap between Nod and the heavenly Jerusalem. By allowing the monk to return, he in fact allows him to proceed.

c. *Paradisus claustralis*

The mortification imposed by the abbot Cherub makes the monk worthy of coming to wisdom, which is "a tree of life to all who lay hold of her" (Prov 3.18). And the monk does seize it: "a poor serf, I grasped at her fruit with all my best endeavours and it was sweet to my mouth. I ate it with much appetite […]".[28] Is it possible that Casey's rendering of the gluttonous devouring implied in *toto ore comedens* leans perhaps towards the polite? This conscious and beatific gorging, I suggest, of fruit contrasts with the curse brought upon the monk when he unconsciously ate of Eve's apple in his sleep.

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[26] "Eisdem ergo virtutum gradibus redeundum est homini in exsilio posito, quibus privatus expelli meruit de paradiso." Div 102.1; Winkler IX: 758.

[27] Gregory of Nyssa, *De Virginitate* 12, 302. See moreover Ladner 1959, 76–77.

[28] "[…] lignum vitae est his qui apprehenderint eam, et sicut pauper et famelicus fructus eius dulces gutturi meo totis conatibus apprehendens, toto ore comedens […]" Par VII; Winkler IV: 884. Casey's translation, 96.

The character of the monk's location is now transformed. Rather than being the place of cutting and removing, it is now a place of growth. It thus anticipates that essential gain which the monk is about to receive within the frame-narrative of the parable:

> Indeed I discovered that the extra help which I needed for my return was, in some way, doubled. For servile fear I received chaste fear. For goodness, real goodness [...] For knowledge I received that full knowledge which is charity.[29]

It is noteworthy that this passage reflects the development from servile fear to chaste fear also rehearsed in Par II. But whereas there the process is depicted through the ups and downs of the figure of Fear, it is here the monk who is the subject. Par VII is a highly personalized tale; the monk is not merely a stage of a *bellum* more or less *intestinum*. Narratively, he is as much master in his own house, as he may possibly be within a lapsarian perspective.

The ripe fecundity introduced with the tree of life contrasts with the meagre yield of the land of the monk's flesh. It also adds further implications to the walled enclosure of the monastery painstakingly emphasized towards the end of the parable in which the monk tells Christ where he has achieved his goods: "In monasterio, in claustro, in claustrali disciplina" and "claustris monasterii". The fruits on which the monk feasts only grow within the discipline of the cloister.[30]

The monastic merger of enclosure and fecundity has a significant resonance in Div 42's designation of the monastery as a *paradisus claustralis*: "The second region is the enclosed paradise. Truly, the monastery is a Paradise, a region defended by the palisade of discipline, within which is a fruitful fertility of precious goods."[31] The term *paradisus claustralis* is infrequent, perhaps even a *hapax legomenon*, but the thought is

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[29] "Quin etiam quae ad reditus mei subsidium acceperam, duplicata quodammodo haec reperi, dum pro timore servili timorem castum accepi, pro pietate pietatem ipsam [...] pro scientia scientiae plenitudinem [...]" Par VII; Winkler IV: 884. Casey's translation, 97.

[30] More poetic chords of blossoming rather than fruitage are struck in Div 42's twin text Sent III.91 and its presentation of the monastic *regio australis*: "The paradise of the cloister, facing the sweet mildness of the favorable south wind, flourishes, as it were, with as many flowers as it abounds in virtues." ("Claustralis vero paradisus ad suavem spirantis austri clementiam, quasi tot floribus vernat, quot virtutibus abundat.") Sent III.91; Winkler IV: 536. Swietek's translation, 290.

[31] "Secunda regio est paradisus claustralis. Vere claustrum est paradisus, regio vallo disciplinae munita, in qua pretiosarum est mercium fecunda fertilitas." Div 42.4; Winkler IX: 536.

not specifically Bernardine. Jerome for instance also thinks of monastic life as a paradise, considering the cell as a provisional prolongation of Paradise, to be replaced by the heavenly homeland: "Until you are in your homeland, you shall have the cell for Paradise".[32]

In Bernard, however, the concept of *paradisus claustralis* is embedded in the quite particular structure of the five regions of Div 42. Here an association is made between the second and the fifth region, between the enclosed Paradise of the monastery and the heavenly Paradise, which is designated with another rare term: *paradisus supercaelestis*.[33] The common denomination of these two regions as paradises links them in a way that echoes the affiliation claimed in Ep 64. Once the monastery has been designated as a paradise, the terms of the expulsion are modified. Unsurprisingly, Christ plays a decisive part in the maintenance of paradisiacal traits despite the Fall:

> There are three paradises. One is earthly, and its inhabitant was the earthly Adam. The second is spiritual. It is the Church of the saints, which the celestial Adam founded and which he inhabits. The third is the celestial paradise, which is the kingdom of God, eternal life, and the land of those who truly live. God dwells in this Paradise.[34]

There is a link between the three paradises which transcends the ruptures entailing the Fall. Thus Christ at once marks Paradise regained and offers a new and superior paradisiacal form:

> However, in order that now the expectation of the future things may be as firm as the exhibition of the present things, we have a paradise which is much better and far more delightful than the one that our first parents had, and our paradise is the Lord Christ.[35]

This Paradise of Christ is related to the *reformatio in melius* which is not only a return but a return to something better. In Par VII, the

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[32] "Quamdiu in patria tua es, habeto cellulam pro paradiso" Jerome, *Epistula* 125.7, PL 22.1076.

[33] Div 42.7.

[34] "Tres sunt paradisi: Unus terrestris, cuius incola fuit Adam terrenus. Secundus spiritualis, qui est ecclesia sanctorum, quem fundavit et inhabitat Adam caelestis. Tertius caelestis, qui est regnum Dei, et vitae aeterna, et terra viventium, in quo habitat Deus." Sent III.79; Winkler IV: 490. Swietek's translation, 260–261. Gilson warns against understanding the concept of *paradisus claustralis* in a too definite way: "notons que si le cloître est *un* paradis, il n'est pas *le* paradis" Gilson 1986, 113. Gilson's italics.

[35] "Nunc autem ut de exhibitione praesentium firma sit exspectatio futurorum, paradisum habemus multo meliorem, et longe delectabiliorem, quam primi parentes habuerunt, et paradisus noster Christus Dominus est." Nat 1.6; Winkler VII: 232–234.

monastery eventually turns out to be not only an exile of mortifying exercises but also a third Paradise of sorts: Not the first one of the creation, nor that of the good conscience where the protagonist was placed after his baptism, but a third, signified by the achievement of the wisdom of the tree of life. Also in this case, Paradise regained is more than that which was lost, since it enables the monk to purchase the kingdom of heaven as the location of that most radical *reformatio in melius*.

d. *Memoria*

Before turning into the *paradisus claustralis*, we left the monk of Par VII at the beginning of his way back to Paradise. At that point, the intro-duction of the tree of life as a feature of pre-eminent paradisiacal con-notations seemed to suggest that he might succeed. But his direction is reorientated. When the monk achieved wisdom through mortifica-tion, "[…] My past evils slipped from my mind, my spirit revived and I became aware of a hope for perpetuity."[36] This sentence follows imme-diately after the reference to the fruits of the tree of life so abruptly broken off above. Past evils are obliterated; memory is cleared. It is less subtle than the blanching outlined to the Parisian clerics in *De conver-sione*. Like the pruning with the sword of the Cherub, in Par VII the mortification of past memories is wholesale. The monk's memorial pur-gation implies the replacement of retrospective longing by hope, and of past evils (*praeterita mala*) by perpetuity (*perennitas*).

From this point onwards, the monk is advancing. It becomes clear that his being on his way did not begin when he set out to go to market, but when his past was cut away by the application of monastic asceticism. By this he deserved to know his own ways (*vias meas*) through the light of understanding. Monastic discipline has turned the *peregrinus* into a *viator*. This turning implies moreover that his past hardships have been turned into values which may be traded for the future goal. This purging of the monk's memory vibrantly interacts with the manner in which the Fall of Adam has become his personal history. His own past vices he shares with Adam, and it is not only his own vices, but the Fall itself, which has been gracefully remedied by his eating from the tree of life.

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[36] "[…] oblitus sum praeteritorum malorum meorum, spiritum resumpsi, spem perennitatis concepi." Par VII; Winkler IV: 884. Casey's translation, 96.

4. *Anthropology*

The *peregrinus-viator* spectrum of Par VII presents us with a range of potential points of identification. The chief subject-matter of the parable is the first-person narration of the Fall. It is stressed that the monk should acknowledge the interaction between his monastic present and his lapsarian past with the purging of memory as a critical turning point. In the unravelling of this interaction, the parable presents three explicit "You are here" marks. These marks are of a prominent character, not least owing to the fact that they are presented by Christ.

The first mark is constituted in Christ's statement that the monk should recount to others the incidents that have turned him into such a skilled negotiator, as this may excite some of his kind to emulate him. This is a fairly direct indication, since the parable is indeed aimed at the monk's kind. Christ's exhortation is the prologue to the monk's account of mortification and ascetic life. It therefore implicitly urges the recipients to pay heed to the story which is about to be told, namely that of the Fall, as a mapping of their own situation. In opposition to the parables on the four wounds of the Church, which gives us a panorama of salvation history in collective mode, Par VII crystallizes soteriology into the single figure of the monk. He is thus not only the apostle of his brothers, as stated by Christ, but also their exemplary representation. His is the Fall and his the salvation.

The other "You are here" mark is contained in the concluding words of the parable. Here Christ dubs the monk the apostle of his brothers:

> Tell them for me not to take delight in going out from the enclosure of the monastery often or in being at a distance from it or in wandering abroad, because in the monastery they have the possibility of such abundant profit.[37]

In this rather monumental Christological request, the monastery is plotted into the soteriological mapping of the parable as a location that will take lapsarian man to his goal, while at the same time displaying the dangerously osmotic character of the monastic walls.[38] The monks

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[37] "Dic illis ex me ne delectet eos a claustris monasterii illius saepius vel longius exire vel evagari, ubi tantam copiam et facultatem habent lucrandi." Par VII; Winkler IV: 890. Casey's translation, 100.

[38] Winkler says of this last sentence, "Das ist die 'Moral von der Geschichte', die auch zu einer anständigen Allegorese und einer ordentlichen Parabel gehört." Winkler, *Sämtliche Werke* IV: 799. Nevertheless, apart from the first parable, this is the only one with an explicit moral.

are addressed directly and told to remain where they are. Presumably, this is not a matter of *saeculum* versus *claustrum*, as the *saeculum* is not within sight, but simply of remaining as it were within the monastic field of magnetism.

A third point of identification, although in the negative, is the other trader introduced towards the end of the parable.[39] He is described as one of the multitude of people for whom it is sufficient to be alive. A trader with little to sell, a monk of lukewarm obedience (*negotiator tenuis substantiae, monachus tepidae oboedientiae*), he lives only on the plains with the crowds of Judea and the sea coasts and from Tyre and Sidon (cf. Lk 6.17). As Casey states, this passage not only becomes a competition between the lukewarm and the ardent monk but also between the four beatitudes of Luke and the eight beatitudes of Matthew.[40] The passage resumes the context of Mt 13.45–46 from which the parable was launched. By designating the trader *monachus*, a clear-cut point of potential identification is established, sad-looking beside the potent protagonist of the eight beatitudes.

Besides signifying the lack of celestial aspirations in this trader, the plains, mountains, and exact localities in the somewhat puzzling introduction of the New Testament locations add to the topographical charge of the narrative, which moreover retains the geographical motif implied in the introductory references of the dialogue. The parable is thus suspended between places so diverse as India, Britannia, Tyre, and Sidon on the one hand and the Garden of Eden, the monastery, and the kingdom of heaven on the other; it has heaven and earth as its basic axis—and is enacted on the road to market. In this, there is just as much geographical fragmentation as there is pretence of geographical cohesion. But it allows the drama of the parable a graphic and spacious stage.

5. *Topographical plot*

In the topographical structure of Par VII, a *viator*-topography involving the monastery and the heavenly kingdom, as well as the way that mediates between them, is fused with a *peregrinus*-topography implying

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[39] The is the passage of which Winkler remarks: "Wir haben hier eines der seltenen Beispiele vor uns, wo wir dem Exegeten Bernhard nicht ganz zu folgen vermögen." *Sämtliche Werke* IV: 896, note 27.

[40] Casey 2000, 86.

Paradise and a monastic Nod. These two topographies are represented within a comprehensive monastic ethos which decisively marks Paradise, Nod, and the way to the heavenly homeland. Through the memory of his own vices merged with those of the Fall, the monk adopts the past of Adam and the related topoi of Paradise and Nod to his own use.

Only one gap is explored in the parable; the one between Paradise and the monastically tinged Nod outside. This gap hovers between the absolute and the indefinite. It appears as absolute because God's rage and the armed Cherub isolate the monk from Paradise. It, however, appears as indefinite because partly the Cherub follows the monk into the monastery, partly a return to Paradise remains a possibility. By way of contrast, the gap between the heavenly kingdom and the present locus of the monk is reduced almost to a matter of formality—or business. Despite a certain narrative tension implied in the dialogue, there is never any doubt that by the grace of Christ, the monk has deserved to receive both the kingdom and the beatific vision in return for his ascetic labour: not to mention his skills in negotiation. Although viewed through a first-person lens, the parable implies a strong monastically collective perspective in its emphasis on the exchange between the *paradisus claustralis* and the heavenly kingdom and the function of the monk as *pars pro toto* apostle of his fellow monks.

In short, this parable displays the monastery between former and future *patria*. It moreover shows the ruptures between these three places—and the means by which their latent connection may be made real.

PARABOLA VIII, DE REGE ET SERVO QUEM DILEXIT

I. *Summary*

"A certain citizen killed the king's son. When he was arrested to be punished, he began to plead with his judges as though he was seized by repentance."[1] They began to have mercy on him, but the citizen met the king's other son and killed him too. Who will now pity him? It is like that with the monk who when in the world killed his soul by sin and has entered the monastic profession to do penance. When he kills again through negligence, he cuts himself off from any hope and even draws upon himself a double punishment for his double sin.

II. *Discussion*

Par VIII makes a somewhat anaemic contrast to the full-blooded Par VII—and a somewhat pale finale to the parabolic tour. The topographical indications are scarce. We shall, however, once again look at this theme, if only briefly, to show the narrative weight of these indications even in a text as summary as this.

The parable is only seven lines long and has the schematic shape of the similitude, with two small narrative parts presented as an analogy. It echoes the parable about the tenants who first tortured the slaves sent by the landowner to collect his harvest and then killed his son (Mt 21.33–44 and par.). Here however the slain son does not signify Christ, but the soul of the monk.

The plot of the parable is set in three stages which are only indirectly indicated: the location of the offence, the location of the punishment, and the locus of condemnation. Or, in the terms of the other part of the analogy: *saeculum*, *professio monastica*, and an undefined place which is

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[1] "Civis quidam regis filium occidit, cumque raperetur ad poenam, quasi paenitentia ductus, iudices suos coepit rogare." Par VIII.1; Winkler IV: 890. Casey's translation, 102.

only hinted at as a place which is neither of the two, but which must be inferred since we are told that the monk was *in saeculo* when these things took place. The point of the parable lies inherent in this last location; the monk's monastic profession was about to earn him the mercy of God, but he rejected it and earned himself instead *duplex poena*, the last station of the narrative.

These allusions to the trajectory of the monk are elaborated through two features which may be said to hinge on the topographical idea. The first is the introductory *civis quidam*, the second the positioning of the protagonist monk *in saeculo*. The indication that the character is a citizen emphasizes both his bonds of allegiance to the king whose sons he kills and the spatial delimitations of this narrative to the kingdom. The murders are the work of an insider; he is an inmate and is subject to the king; ideally not only by duty but also by inclination. In short, an insider who should have been otherwise disposed. These connotations spill over into the second part of the similitude; the ties between God and the monk are similar to those between the king and his lieges. But furthermore, the soul of the monk is like a son to the king; it is of God's lineage, and by sinning, the monk is only indirectly violating himself while directly revolting against God.

The second aspect is the overall cosmological perspective indicated, as already mentioned, by *in saeculo*. This incident is viewed *sub specie aeternitatis* not only temporally but also spatially, and the stage pertaining to worldly life is only one stage. Thus *in saeculo* represents, *pars pro toto*, the overall soteriological dimension of this final parable.

EPILOGUE

Παραβάλλειν. Throwing next to—and hence saying something by saying something else. Parables are made of a conjunction of two poles; they may take the form of an explicit comparison or set up an implicit distinction between that which is told and the meaning alluded to: in Turner's terms, between source story and target story. Parables may be employed for pedagogical purposes, as a way of expressing the ineffable, or as an invitation to ponder what may otherwise seem incomprehensible.

The parables looked at in this study are above all the eight parables attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux. These, we have seen, differ from each other in kind and editorial fate but have in common an epic storyline and the employment of analogies. The basic motifs of the monastery recur in these narratives: motifs of *militia Christi*, the loss of *similitudo Dei*, the union and separation of Christ and his bride, and the quest for beatitude through the practices of asceticism and humility. If less intricate and far slighter than the volumes of sermons, treatises, and correspondence produced by the versatile abbot, these texts reveal rudimentary versions of many of the central themes of his corpus.

But the parables addressed here are also the metaphorical structures in Bernard's texts. Attention has been directed to the ways in which he, so to speak, throws next to the meaning that he wants to convey the words that he so aptly fashions. I suggest that the target story of Bernard's work is a basic narrative of fall, restoration, relapse, and redemption; and that his source stories are multifarious. These source stories, each of which represents a particular aspect of the target story, may be shaped as ravishing romances of lovers who embrace and are torn from each other, for instance, as stern tales of armed encounters, or as pragmatic deliberations on domestic matters. They are set in landscapes and locations, settings and sceneries, which bring to the stories colour and vitality while harbouring connotations and implications of their own.

These topographies have been the main focus of this study. It was undertaken in the hope of exploring the character of the topography

underlying Bernard's texts, the anthropology associated with this topography, and his way of representing the topography. I have argued that the answers to these questions lie with an interaction between stability and semantic permanence on the one hand, and open-endedness and adaptability on the other. The spiritual topography is, at its most fundamental, the route-map of salvation history from Paradise to the celestial Jerusalem, and the array of mainly biblical topoi which line the way. Each of these topoi signifies salvatory progression or lapsarian detention. They are described through their internal contrasts and affinities, and carry inherent allusions to the topographical whole on a *pars pro toto* basis. In his cartography Bernard employs these topoi as a reservoir of symbolic resources which pliably lend themselves to different discourses without losing their own cargo of connotations. By moving his protagonists or his authorial focus within this field, he can conjure up new vistas and tell other variations of the story.

The readings of this book have been done by the light of a literary rather than a theological lamp. By way of conclusion I shall point to an opening, one which I suggest is well worth discussion: namely that the two approaches are not mutually exclusive, but may prosper in each other's company. Theological approaches to the Bernardine *oeuvre* are generally concerned with tracing the one story, the master-narrative or target story as it were. They frequently aim at wringing meaning from form, the better to distil the doctrinal and spiritual tenor in or behind the texts. What has been presented here has lingered over form as part and parcel of meaning. The motivating interest has been with the diverse ways in which Bernard tells his story and the various shades in which he colours it. Accordingly, attention has been directed to the textual means by which these shades are fashioned; literary features, that is, such as point of view, narrative scope, and *ductus*. These are the instruments deployed by Bernard in the orchestration of the manifold variations of his main theme; the Fall of man, his restoration, detention, and reorientation.

With this reconnoitre into what has heuristically been conceived of as Bernard's mapping of spiritual topography, I thus propose a reading attuned to the Bernardine dynamic, a reading which gravitates between master-narrative and variation, between constancy and diversification.

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